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The Shape of Things

THE NATION ASSOCIATES FORUM ON CONTROL of atomic power, held last Saturday, Sunday, and Monday at the Hotel Astor in New York, was a success by any accepted standard of measurement. The number of delegates and guests attending the four sessions on the first two days totaled more than 500 and represented a wide range of national organizaitons. They came from 95 cities in twenty-two states, including places as far away as Washington, Oregon, and California. As for the dinner, its attendance was held by space limitations to some two thousand guests; at least as many more would have come if they could have been accommodated. Professor Harold J. Laski chairman of the British Labor Party, came by plane from London especially to take his place among the guest speakers. Statistics don't tell the story but these few figures illustrate one part of it: they show how keenly American progressive groups realize the urgent nature of the problem of control created by the bomb; how eager they are to arrive at informed conclusions and agree upon effective action. The program was deliberately arranged to allow time for the active participation of the delegates, and at each working session except the last, which was somewhat crowded, the discussion was general and full. One delegate remarked at the end that it was the first "really democratic" conference she had ever attended, the first at which speakers and presiding officers alike "treated the audience like a collection of adults." One factor contributing to this happy impression was that the audience *was* adult—a group of serious, well informed citizens who knew what they were there for. To the distinguished group of speakers and discussion leaders *The Nation* and the members of the Forum owe a deep debt of gratitude.

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THE FORMAL PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE FORUM need not be reviewed here. They formed, we believe, a remarkably coherent and impressive whole. It would be unfair to select any for special mention; instead we plan to publish them in as complete form as possible, together with some of the discussion from the floor, in a special supplement to appear two weeks hence. Then *Nation* readers who were unable to attend the forum will be able to judge for themselves the quality of the material presented and share, in part, the value of the meetings. Perhaps the most insistent note struck by scientists and lay speakers alike was the impossibility of finding any protection against the destructive power of atomic explosives except through international machinery capable, first, of exercising effective authority over atomic development for military purposes and, sec-

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end, of preventing war itself. This insistence was expressed in various ways: in detailed discussions of methods of international inspection and control; in a strong demand, voiced by several speakers, for the rapid transformation of UNO into a world government; and in a realistic discussion of the conflicts and tensions—particularly between Russia and the West—which stand in the way of adequate international action. The forum adjourned with the adoption of a set of "propositions" which will appear in the supplement.

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THERE ARE DOZENS OF EXPLANATIONS BUT NO excuses for the failure of the labor-management conference. The reasons for its collapse are all bad. Industry delegates were determined not to endorse the President's wage policy. John L. Lewis, now the absolute boss of the A. F. of L., in fact if not in name, was determined to scotch any proposal of importance originating with the C. I. O. Management was determined to prevent fact-finding or voluntary arbitration machinery which involved real disclosure of company books, and labor was happy enough to avoid the subject lest it be saddled with nothing but a crippling requirement for cooling-off periods. The only thing that can make the conference failure more abject than it is will be to indulge in the fantasy that it really accomplished something.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS asking for legislation to provide for emergency fact-finding boards in critical labor disputes is clearly connected with the failure of the labor-management conference. The policy it outlines has been strongly urged by *The Nation* ever since the present menacing situation developed. Commerce Department and OWMR reports and the President's own speech have proclaimed that wages can be raised substantially without increasing prices. Since industry has rejected that policy in word and in deed by refusing to bargain collectively on the subject, the government must prove its point and enlist public support behind it. It must arrange disclosure of the economic facts, industry by industry. In this way it can accomplish the two principal goals which the conference missed—the creation of effective and fair disputes machinery and the demonstration of the broad economic terms in which strikes must be settled.

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A STEEL STOPPAGE IS AN IMMINENT THREAT in view of last week's strike vote and United States Steel's absolute refusal to resume negotiations in the absence of higher price ceilings. No strike could be more menacing to reconversion. The nation's durable-goods factories would come to a halt in a matter of weeks. Even more forcibly than the General Motors walkout this crisis demonstrates the compelling necessity for federally sponsored machinery to settle disputes. Unfortunately the steel dispute is also the most difficult to settle. "Big Steel" has always set the pattern, and it proposes to continue that role in a situation where the stakes are greater than a mere wage increase, where the battle revolves on the question of whether prices and profits are the concern of an individual company or of the public. Moreover, the steel industry's profits are probably less than those in other industries where similar wage demands are being made. Finally, for the OPA to compromise its price policy by allowing higher ceilings would be to create the terrifying necessity of repricing practically everything under OPA. After all, steel enters some 85 per cent of all manufactured products. Since the OPA-industry dispute over prices and the union-industry dispute over wages really center in the question of steel profits, and since neither side trusts the other's figures, only one settlement procedure appears to offer any hope. That is the government-sponsored, impartial investigation of the facts as they appear from an examination of all sources, including the industry's books. It should produce the only answers that could be expected to satisfy the workers and give the public the truth on which to base its decisions and force a just settlement. Failure to avert the strike, or to end it promptly when it begins, means a productionless winter, possibly one of the blackest and most dangerous in the country's peace-time history.

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ITALY, AS WE GO TO PRESS, STILL HAS NO government. The task of forming a cabinet has been entrusted to Alcide de Gasperi, leader of the Christian Democrats and Foreign Minister in the Parri administration, whose efforts to maintain a broad-based coalition are encountering opposition from the Liberals. One major bone of contention in the Ministry of the Interior which Signor de Gasperi, in agreement with the Socialists, Communists, and Actionists, had alloted to the Socialists. Since this department controls the police and will be responsible for preparations for the elections next spring, the Liberals, who have become in fact the spearhead of conservatism and monarchism, are desperately anxious to secure the post for themselves. It was the Liberals who forced the current crisis by their attacks on Signor Nenni, Socialist Vice-Premier in the Parri government whom they accuse of too much zeal in his purge of Fascists. But their intrigue could hardly have succeeded if the Allies had shown a less negative attitude toward Parri. When he took office British and American representatives approved his democratic program and promised support. The most effective form such support could have taken would have been the abrogation of the harsh armistice terms which thwart an Italian government at every turn. Under the armistice, for instance, Allied Military Government controls the industrial north; demobilization of the Italian army which is eating up one-third of the budget is prohibited; the conclusion of commercial treaties with other countries, which could help to revive trade, is prevented. Two months ago Parri urged the Allies to substitute an "interim peace arrangement" for the armistice. But his plea was ignored and thus encouragement was given to reactionaries who spread the word that Parri's policy of cooperation with the democratic powers had failed. If Italy is to have a chance, if it is not to be shaken by continual crises, the Allies must allow its government power commensurate with its responsibilities.

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ADDRESSING A TORY CONVENTION LAST WEEK, Winston Churchill sought to raise the drooping spirits of his followers by unloosing a stream of invective against the

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Labor government. Herbert M. Matthews of the New York *Times* tells us that "the doughty old warrior" was never in better form. He quotes in proof "pungent phrases that tumbled like malevolent gems from a genie's pouch," such as "morbid and reactionary Socialists," "the gloomy vultures of nationalization," "the heavy-footed state." These rhetorical clichés seem more like sweepings from the floor of Lord Beaverbrook's yellow press than jewels of eloquence, and we suspect that they affected the impressionable Mr. Matthews far more than they did the politically mature British public. In fact, Britons are likely to find in Mr. Churchill's tirade yet another proof of the political bankruptcy of his party. Having no constructive program with which to oppose the Labor Party, the Tories must fall back on abuse. In his peroration Mr. Churchill showed that he was still unable to read the lessons of the Parliamentary and municipal elections when he said "events are moving and will move toward the issue—the people versus the Socialists." Obviously he refuses to accept the fact that "the people" are *with* the Socialists and are likely to stay with them so long as they stay with socialism.

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EVEN AT THIS ELEVENTH HOUR WE COULD DO something effective about Argentina. But it should be done without delay. We should immediately call a conference of Latin American nations and urge a general break of relations with Buenos Aires and the application of economic sanctions. This is the only way to prevent Perón from being elected President. Once he is in office, nothing can be done short of using force. That is the conviction not only of newspapermen who have watched events in Argentina, or of impatient anti-fascists, but of many well-informed Latin American diplomats. These men cannot express their views openly, but they have done so privately, and if the State Department desires we can furnish the names of our sources. Nor is the issue one of anti-Semitism or the suppression of every form of freedom, including freedom of the press. It is that the election of Perón as President means almost certain war in the Western Hemisphere by 1950. His rule will lead to the absorption by Argentina of Bolivia and Paraguay, the latter country having already become almost an Argentine province. It will lead later to the encirclement of Uruguay and Chile, then to open conflict with Brazil and, in the end, with the United States. The strong stand taken by Spruille Braden in Buenos Aires did much to stiffen popular resistance to the threat of a continued, quasi-legal Perón dictatorship. When Braden was recalled by Washington to become Assistant Secretary of State, it was hoped that immediate steps would be taken to translate his attitude into official policy. So far nothing has happened, and as a result Perón's position is much stronger than when Braden left. Only prompt and energetic action can reverse the situation.

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GRUDGINGLY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS HAS decided to comply with the verdict of the federal courts. In January, 1944, it will be recalled, the District Court found that the public interest required that the A.P. in passing on applications for membership should not take into account the effect on the competitive position of existing members. This decision was upheld by a majority of the Supreme Court in June, 1945, and a petition for a rehearing of the case was denied in October. With no further legal procedures open to them, the directors of the agency felt compelled to take steps which would make possible a motion to the court for lifting the injunction under which the A.P. is now operating. With this in view they recommended to the members at a special meeting on November 28: first, an amendment to the by-laws providing that "in voting upon an applicant for membership, whether such voting be by the members or the board of directors, no member or director shall take into consideration in passing upon such applicant the effect of his or its admission upon the ability of such applicant to compete with members in the same city and field"; second, the election of four applicants for membership, including Marshall Field, owner of the Chicago *Sun*. The motion to elect was seconded by Colonel Robert R. McCormick, who made no attempt to disguise the bitterness of the pill. He consented, he said, only because the A.P.'s counsel agreed that if the applicants were rejected, "the courts will hold us in contempt." However, having tripped over the law, the Colonel is hoping to get the law changed. He had, he told the meeting, 500 proxies supporting a resolution pledging the membership to agitate for legislation exempting newspapers and news agencies from the anti-trust laws. Having done its modest part in the campaign in which the A.P. has just acknowledged defeat, *The Nation* promises to renew the fight if and when newspaper publishers seek special privileges from Congress.

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JOHN (THE GIANT-KILLER) LONGO RECENTLY won another respite from the persecution of the Hague colossus in New Jersey, which has been trying for years to put him securely behind bars. Longo was sentenced to serve eighteen months to three years after he was found guilty, on the evidence of Hague witnesses, of having falsified his own voting record, or rather of having stood by while it was falsified. The Court of Errors and Appeals denied his request for a new trial. The Board of Pardons refused clemency. But just when it seemed that the prison doors must surely close upon him, and the Hague cohorts were undoubtedly heaving sighs of relief, Judge August Ziegner of the Court of Common Pleas issued an order directing the Hudson County prosecutor to show cause why Longo should not have a new trial. The Hagueophile Hudson County Bar Association immediately swung into action and tried to enjoin any move for a new trial. Meanwhile the New Jersey papers carried a full-page advertisement designed to prove that Longo's trial had been above reproach. Nevertheless, the Court of Errors and Appeals turned down the Bar Association's application for a writ prohibiting Judge Ziegner from reopening the case. To anyone familiar with New Jersey politics the determination of the Hague machine to prevent a new trial is enough to prove that Longo deserves one. If it comes about, we hope the defense will find a way of bringing into court the handwriting expert who was hired by the prosecution to examine the record in question—but was not produced as a witness. On being

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questioned by former Governor Edison as to his findings, he said that they showed that the crime with which Longo was charged had never been committed. The prosecution, it seems, did not consider his report—with photographs—worth mentioning.

Same Bill of Goods

BURTON K. WHEELER'S speech in the Senate last week on the Connally resolution for the appointment of American representatives to the United Nations Organization constituted a formal unveiling of the new, 1946 model, post-war isolationism. For the isolationists reconversion has been an easy process. The war has not affected them; atomic energy has left them untouched. Their line is virtually identical with what it was when the attack on Pearl Harbor suddenly forced them, temporarily, to shut up shop. They present now only a single innovation—the slogan, "We told you so."

Senator Wheeler put it this way in his opening words: "Mr. President, the speech I am about to make is in no way intended as a criticism of President Truman. He has inherited an almost insoluble situation—one which some of us foresaw was the inevitable consequence of the policies pursued before Pearl Harbor. Now there are those who seek to blame him—in order that they may excuse their own lack of foresight, their own support of some of the things which could only lead to the situation in which we now find ourselves."

Later on he amplified this in an interesting exchange with Senator McMahon:

> *Mr. McMahon:* Does the Senator believe we fought for survival?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* Certainly not.
>
> *Mr. McMahon.* Does the Senator take the position that this country was in no danger at any time?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* We were never in any danger until we were attacked.
>
> *Mr. McMahon.* Does the Senator believe that that attack was inevitable?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* No, I do not.
>
> *Mr. McMahon.* The Senator thinks it could have been avoided?
>
> *Mr. Wheeler.* Of course I do. I have said so repeatedly. I think it could have been. I do not claim to be infallible. My own conviction was then, and my conviction is now, that the policies we pursued led us down the road to war.

This, of course, is precisely the line which is being developed by the Republicans in the Pearl Harbor inquiry. Even less subtly than Senator Wheeler, they are attempting to prove the validity of their own pre-war contentions—that the Axis had no designs on America, that the war was no more than a contest between rival and equally reprehensible imperialisms, that President Roosevelt's resistance to the Axis was contrary to our real national interest and provoked, if it did not actually justify, the Japanese attack upon us. Here is an interpretation of history which, if it can be made to germinate in the soil of post-war disillusionment, will undermine and subvert the whole American outlook, and uproot the nascent sense of unity with mankind which has been this nation's one positive gain from the awful experience of war.

It is unlikely that Senator Wheeler can succeed, or that he even entertains any hope of success, in his assault on the Connally resolution. At the time this is written, with the defeat of the Taft amendment, its passage seems assured. This measure is intended to accomplish no more than to implement American adherence to the United Nations Charter, ratified by the Senate four months ago, eighty-nine to two. It would authorize appointment of an American representative and a deputy to the UNO. It would empower the President to commit this country to collective measures short of war without reference to Congress. And it would also empower him to make stipulated American forces available for the enforcement of decisions taken by the Security Council. The size and character of the American forces to be made available would have to be approved in advance by Congress, but once approved, they could be committed to action unanimously agreed upon by the council in an emergency without specific Congressional indorsement. It is this last provision, of course, which will test those who, like Senator Wheeler, gave no more than lip service to the charter itself. Plainly, without this provision American participation would be meaningless and the council impotent.

Senator Wheeler's assault highlights certain dangers to the United Nations Organization in the attitude of some of the younger interventionists who disparage the charter as inadequate and already obsolescent. Perfectionism, as President Roosevelt noted, has its serious dangers. One need not embrace Senator Connally's extravagant fears of a world state to recognize the force of his reasoning when he asked rather irritably, "Why can't we stick with this until we try it a while? . . . Why, when we start to do something, do you have to say: 'Let's to something else.' " The immediate problem is to make the United Nations function.

Senator Wheeler plays adroitly upon the dissatisfactions of those who want something better than the UNO. He cites their criticism of it as proof that it has already failed. And as an even more effective means of undermining popular faith in it, he attributes to this alleged failure the whole sorry state of the world today. Russia and Britain, as he sees it, are both now actively engaged in aggression. The task of the UNO must be nothing less than to quell them at once, forthwith. "Enforce the peace against whom?" he asks rhetorically. "Certainly not Germany and Japan—they are destroyed. The only aggressors today are our beloved and noble peace-loving allies, both of which are still at war."

But if Senator Wheeler is scornful of the UNO's capacity to bring these recalcitrants to heel, he has no doubt that the United States, alone and unaided, can and should do so. "We must quit appeasing Russia," he insists staunchly, "and let her know once and for all we did not fight this war to let her enslave the peoples of Europe. She agreed to our high principles in her hour of distress. She must abide by them now." If President Roosevelt's remonstrances to the Axis before Pearl Harbor were war-mongering, what can this be called?

It is quite obvious by now that the advent of the atom bomb has at once made more urgent the establishment of a functioning world organization and called for the strengthening of the authority set up by agreement among the nations. Some honestly feel that the international authority must be

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invested with all the powers and instrumentalities of world government. And logic, if not history, seems to support them. But however much beyond the present United Nations Organization men's logic and hopes and fears may carry them, the first and immediate task is to find ways to heal the rifts between the nations and give UNO the power it now requires. It is this task that must unite all Americans who, even before the bomb, knew that the world was one.

Radio's Second Chance

THE development of FM broadcasting, free from static and interference, marked a great step forward in electronics. It promised more, however, than full-fidelity reception. To a radio industry that has been constipated with bad taste and noisome commercials, it offered a chance for a fresh start. To business that was left out in the cold when simoniacs in the Coolidge and Hoover administrations were selling the nation's airways down the spectrum, it offered a new opportunity for station licenses. To the body politic, it offered a thousand platforms widely scattered, from which all points of view could gain a public hearing.

The inventor of FM, Major Edwin Armstrong, was fully aware of the immense social values of his brain-child. He had found that the radio industry, particularly RCA, had fought FM "every inch of the way," and he expressed the expectation that FM would make possible a large number of small and independent stations. When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) gave the go-ahead to FM in May, 1940, it emphasized that "the opening of a new band for commercial broadcasts will help to correct numerous defects and inequalities now existing in the standard broadcast system." It limited the competitive advantages which standard stations would have in the FM field by requiring every FM station to present two hours of programs not duplicated on standard broadcast stations, "to demonstrate the full fidelity of the FM system." Finally, during the war, it announced that it planned to reserve twenty channels for later distribution, so that small business units could enter the field at a later date, after more sets had reached the public.

Last December Paul A. Porter, a fluent Kentuckian, was lifted out of his job as publicity chief of the Democratic National Committee and made chairman of the FCC. Fresh from the OPA, where he had done an effective job as rent administrator, he was known in Washington both as a "liberal" and a "smooth operator." He came to the FCC wearing his "L" sweater, and his earlier hitch as a member of the rugged CBS lobby in Washington was dismissed as a totally irrelevant factor in his past. And after he assumed office he wrote a hard-hitting diatribe for *American Magazine,* entitled Radio Must Grow Up, which accused the networks of "commercial opportunism" and sharply excoriated them for putting out a very shoddy type of product. His remedy for the evils of radio, however, was that listeners should write letters to their station managers. Some felt that this solution betrayed a rather narrow view of the powers and functions of the FCC.

When the question of FM came before the commission, Mr. Porter had very little trouble in persuading most of his colleagues to yield to the pressure of the networks and the trade press and abandon the requirements for separate programming on FM outlets owned by AM (standard) stations. And he urged them to forget the silly notion of reserving frequencies for veterans and for newcomers. To veterans who protested against the failure to reserve frequencies, he replied that there would always be a considerable number of unused spots. In places, no doubt, like the Great American Desert.

Protection of present investments in radio has become one of the FCC's chief concerns—in spite of the fact that its own statistics show that the broadcast industry made a return before federal taxes of more than 269 per cent of the depreciated value of its property in 1943—and it is now the FCC's fixed practice to award an FM license almost automatically to every AM station, without any hearing to show what sort of public service it has rendered under its AM license.

Even after receiving their licenses, vested interests enjoy formidable competitive advantages over newcomers in FM: (1) they have no additional rentals; (2) they have no additional programming costs; (3) they have practically no additional personnel or administrative costs; and (4) they enjoy a virtual government tax subsidy through their privilege of offsetting early losses by FM broadcasting against AM profits.

The annual operation cost for a non-affiliated FM station with one kilowatt power will average $35,000, a sum equal to the original construction costs. For an FM station duplicating the programs of an AM affiliate, the annual operation costs will be negligible.

It will take from two to five years for enough FM receivers to be in the homes of the nation to make FM a generally profitable enterprise. Until that time it is not a practical activity for modestly financed units. It is essential, therefore, if small business, civic groups, labor unions, and cooperatives are to enter the field at all, that at least half of the available FM channels be reserved for later distribution.

Up to the present such applications have been sparse, although applications are now on file from the U. A. W., the I. L. G. W. U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Potomac Cooperative Federation, and the Hollywood Community Radio Group. Columbia University has applied for a non-commercial educational station. Most non-profit organizations, however, are unable to finance the venture through the difficult early years, and many have been too preoccupied with war work even to consider the possibility.

The need for action is urgent. Of the first 129 conditional FM licenses, all but 23 were granted to companies which already hold licenses for AM stations. Within the next twelve months a large part of the FM spectrum will be distributed. The responsibility of the FCC is a gigantic one—it has a unique opportunity to safeguard and implement our cherished constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech. Its power is greater than the Supreme Court's, for the court deals only with restraints, and the commission has the positive task of creating opportunities. If America is to avail itself fully of its second chance in radio, if it is to create a vital and imaginative industry whose ownership is widely diversified and whose microphones tap the talent

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resources of every community, the FCC must execute a sharp and courageous reversal of policy. That it will have full Congressional support in such a move is indicated by the fact that the Senate Small Business Committee, sparkplugged by Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho, is making a study of the problems of small business men and veterans in radio. It is hoped that a thorough Congressional investigation of this subject will soon take shape, so that FM can be saved for the people before it is too late.

Exit Pat Hurley

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ORDINARILY when a public servant fails in his task, he resigns quietly, and his shortcomings are mercifully forgotten. This has always been true in the diplomatic service, where tradition frowns upon the airing of individual opinions. But Patrick Hurley is not a man who can accept failure gracefully. He showed that repeatedly in his brief but stormy career as ambassador to China. And when the inevitable consequences of his meddling in Chinese domestic affairs became so apparent that he was denounced in Congress, his inordinate vanity would not permit a peaceful exit. Instead, he issued an angry public statement which only dramatized his unfitness for the responsibilities with which he had been intrusted.

His attempt to shift the blame for his failure to his former subordinates is a reflection of both his vanity and his incompetence. While it is true that his staff, almost to a man, opposed his consistent support of the reactionary elements in the Chungking regime, it must be remembered that Hurley's policies in every case prevailed and that during the past six or eight months he had surrounded himself with men of his own choosing. Nor has the China Division of the State Department exercised a restraining influence. When conflict arose, Hurley was upheld against the judgment of experts who had spent years studying China's complex political problems. Hurley might have argued that civil war would have broken out even if the United States had not encouraged the Kuomintang with promises of American backing, but he certainly has no grounds for blaming our involvement in that war on those who opposed our taking sides in China's domestic dispute. Hurley's charge that some of the career men openly favored the Communists is a deliberate misrepresentation cooked up, apparently, for political effect. The policies advocated by the experts were from the beginning essentially those of Stilwell and Gauss. They sought to prevent American supplies from being diverted from the war against Japan for use in civil conflict and to assist all groups—not merely the Communists—seeking to establish a more democratic political structure in China. In contrast, Hurley's unconditional support of the Kuomintang has encouraged Chungking to resist popular demands for democratic constitutional reform.

The part of General Hurley's statement that most clearly betrayed his unfitness, however, was the self-contradictory charge that these foreign-service officials were siding simultaneously with an "imperialist bloc" and with "Communist imperialism" against "democracy and free enterprise." It would be impossible in a brief article to untangle the confusion that apparently exists in General Hurley's mind regarding these basic issues. The equating of "democracy" and "free enterprise" provides a partial key to the confusion, but even that does not explain how the career men's alleged Communist sympathies were causing us to be "sucked into a power bloc" *against* Communist imperialism. Yet this is the one specific charge that would in any way justify his assertion that their policies, in contrast to his own, were laying the basis for World War III.

Confused and uninformed though General Hurley's statement is, it has been seized upon with delight by the anti-British, anti-Russian press. Yet its effect in the long run should be salutary. The American people have a right to know not only the details of our involvement in China but how our policies on crucial foreign issues are formulated. They should be particularly interested in learning why the views of a relative novice should be permitted to override the recommendations of men who have devoted years of study to Chinese affairs. Another relevant question is why, considering his obvious incompetence, General Hurley was kept in his post as long as he was. It is known that a successor—a man with long experience in China—was selected several months ago, even before the General returned from China. But after Chiang Kai-shek sent an urgent letter requesting Hurley's retention, it was announced that he would return to China. The public would doubtless like to know why the views of a Chinese official should take precedence over the interests of the American people. A Congressional investigation of these questions would be useful.

After the furor created by Hurley's resignation it was obviously impossible for the President to go back to the original plan of naming a career diplomat to replace him. He had to find a man who enjoyed the confidence of all sections of American opinion and who at the same time would command the highest respect in China. While the selection of a military man with little China experience may be questionable, especially at a time when political issues are paramount, General Marshall is no ordinary military man, and he is not wholly without experience in China. His ability is exceptional, and there is no reason to believe that he shares Hurley's anti-Russian bias. While his task is an unenviable one, he will assume it with as close to united backing as any diplomat could desire.

President Truman has promised that General Marshall will be given specific published instructions before he leaves for Chungking. It is probable that these instructions will follow the general lines of those given Hurley a year ago, making due allowances for changed circumstances. The new ambassador will undoubtedly be asked to explore the possibility of solving the Kuomintang-Communist controversy and to help formulate a long-range policy on American military and material assistance to China. Whether the President will go farther is uncertain. But Marshall's task would be greatly clarified if the President would use this occasion to restate the principles of American foreign policy contained in his Navy Day speech as they apply to China. Such a statement would have a tremendous effect on China's internal situation. The militarists who have gone confidently ahead with preparations for civil war on the assumption

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that Uncle Sam will provide the arms and pay the bill would lose their trump card if our policy were clearly put; for no responsible American official will pledge the kind of assistance the Kuomintang militarists need if they are to establish control throughout China. If the President were to make it plain that American military and economic support will depend upon the acceptance of basic democratic principles, Chungking might be forced to abandon its stubborn opposition to constitutional reform and so might open the way for a settlement of China's internal difficulties.

Palestine Pilgrimage

BY I. F. STONE

New York, November 30

I FEEL a little like the hero of Jules Verne's "Around the World in Eighty Days," though he was a slowpoke by comparison. Last Tuesday I had tea in England and dinner in Ireland. I breakfasted the next day in Newfoundland and lunched in New York. I have just returned from a six weeks' trip abroad, a typical bit of American blitz journalism. My primary concern was Palestine, and the largest part of my time was spent there. But I had five days in London on my way and two days in Paris. I saw St. Peter's from the skies over Rome, and I climbed the Acropolis in awe during an overnight stop in Athens. I had five days in and around Cairo before I reached Palestine, and I saw every part of the Holy Land except the Dead Sea during my stay there. I spent two days and a night in the Lebanon, and stayed three days each in Cairo and London on my way back, with short descents from lonely night skies over Cyrenaica and Malta, and a breakfast near Marseilles.

It was my first trip abroad, and if a wandering newspaperman may be forgiven his enthusiasm, I came back drunk on the beauties of the world: that last look at Manhattan's heady towers on the way out; the infinite variety of sea and sky on the boat trip over; St. Paul's, mighty and melancholy amid the bomb ruins in a London dusk; Paris, as one had dreamed of it, miraculously unscathed by the war; a savage sunset over the wild Balkan headlands flying into Greece; the green delta stretching from horizon to horizon as one enters the Egyptian skies; the minarets and the stars over the Citadel in Cairo; dawn over the Negev from the watch tower at Gevulot, with Sinai far in the distance; Minara, my favorite colony, which shoulders the sky 3,000 feet above the Jordan across from the enormous Harmon, where Pan dwelt; and Jerusalem, clean, white, and lovely on its ancient hills. I was moved to tears twice on my trip, once when I walked for the first time into Notre Dame in Paris, and again when I came through the narrow winding streets of the Old City to the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, and saw the few stones to which cling so many filial memories for a Jew.

I went over neither to uncover sensations nor to bolster preconceptions but to understand the British and the Arab as well as the Jewish point of view, to get the atmosphere of London and the flavor of Arab nationalism, and to see for myself what had been accomplished in Palestine. I dined with a Cabinet minister in London and had a two-hour off-the-record talk with Azzam Bey, head of the Arab League, in Cairo. My assignment, to achieve some grasp of the complexities and the tragedies involved in Britain's position, Arab aspirations, and urgent Jewish needs, was an assignment that called for an Isaiah, not a mere reporter. Perhaps I learned most from chance contact and talks with humbler folk—a devout English Catholic returning on the Queen Elizabeth from captivity in Japan, a cockney Jewish mother bombed out of her home in the East End of London, a Coptic doctor struggling against the disease and squalor of an Egyptian village, a young Sephardic Jew homeless in Athens whose Spanish passport had saved him in a German death camp, a brilliant Christian Arab leader in Beirut whose sympathetic understanding of Zionism surpassed that of any Zionist I encountered, a veteran English civil servant in Haifa, and above all the young men and women of the Jewish colonies I visited, the grandest young folk I have ever met.

I hated Egypt. I have never seen such poverty. There are wise and farseeing men in the Egyptian upper class, and I had the good fortune to speak with several. But there are also a whole horde of self-serving phonies, and some Egyptian officials seem to treat their own people with an arrogance and contempt beyond that of the worst foreign imperialist. The gap between rich and poor is unbelievably wide. Of all the villages in Egypt some fourteen now have health centers, and of these fourteen, five have doctors. It was to one of these show villages, near Gizeh, with the Pyramids visible not far away, that I was taken. The filth and squalor were beyond conception, and there, as in the Muski, the ancient quarter of Cairo, I saw a sight one cannot forget—flies feasting on the corrupted eyelids of little children. In the West one speaks of exploitation, but in the West the exploiting capitalist builds, constructs, produces; his activity adds as much as if not more than it subtracts. But in Egypt exploitation is of a different and almost one-sided character. The fellah lives on the Nile and the pasha lives on the fellah. In the West when we think of colonial nationalism, we think of Gandhi and Nehru. Egypt once had a Zaglul Pasha, responsive to his people's needs, but today one catches few if any overtones of idealism in the Wafdist movement he founded.

Egypt provides perspective on Palestine. There is the sharpest contrast between the markets of Egypt and the Arab markets in Palestine, as I saw them in the all-Arab town of Gaza or in the Arab sections of Jerusalem and Haifa. The Arab markets of Palestine are clean. The town and village Arab of Palestine is better dressed, healthier looking by

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far, than the Arab in Egypt, whose usual dress is a dirty, old-fashioned, single-piece garment which is almost an exact replica of the nightshirt grandpa in America used to wear. Passing from Egypt to Palestine one can see for oneself what is testified to in the Peel Royal Commission report on Palestine—that the coming of the Jews has not degraded the Arab but lifted his living standards.

I found myself immensely attracted by the life of the Yishuv, the Jewish community of Palestine. It is the one place in the world where Jews seem completely unafraid. I did not see the displaced persons' camps in Germany, but even in such free countries as England and France—and at home, in the United States—there are premonitory tremors in the Jewish communities, conscious or subconscious fears of the future. In Palestine a Jew can be a Jew. Period. Without apologies, and without any lengthy arguments as to whether Jews are a race, a religion, a myth, or an accident. He need explain to no one, and he feels profoundly at home; I am quite willing to attribute this to historic sentimentality, but it remains none the less a tremendous and inescapable fact. In the desert, on the barren mountains, in the once malarial marshes of the Emek, the Jew has done and is doing what seemed to reasonable men the impossible. Nowhere in the world have human beings surpassed what the Jewish colonists have accomplished in Palestine, and the consciousness of achievement, the sense of things growing, the exhilarating atmosphere of a great common effort infuses the daily life of the Yishuv. I came away feeling that no obstacles, no setbacks, nothing but perhaps a Third World War and atomic bombs in the Middle East, could stop this people.

It happens that I felt myself painfully impelled to disagree with majority opinion in the Yishuv. I am not in favor of a Jewish state in Palestine. But it would be foolish, and it would be completely to misunderstand how history and human beings work, to disparage Zionism. Only a passionate, narrow, and mystical national faith made it possible for Jews to colonize areas the goats despised. Without the Zionist movement, what has been achieved in Palestine would never have come to pass. The closest parallel in American experience is Puritanism, and Palestine is indeed much like the frontier in our own country, both in colonial times and in the West. But the strength associated with such a movement also has its corresponding defects, and the defects of Zionism are reflected in its failure to take into account the feelings and aspirations of the Palestinian Arab. The Arab has benefited from the Jewish influx, but only indirectly. The Zionist has not hurt him, but the Zionist has made him feel shut out. This exclusiveness is natural and understandable, but it needs to be corrected if the Jews are to build for themselves a secure life in the Middle East.

I understood after seeing Egypt and talking with Christian Arabs in the Lebanon—many of them anti-Zionist only in public—why the Yishuv will fight and has a right to fight against permanent minority status under present conditions in an Arab state. But I also understand why the Palestinian Arab, to whom Palestine is also home, who has fully as much right there as the Jew, does not wish to live as a minority in a Jewish state. No one likes to be ruled by an alien people, and though I, a Jew, found the friendliest sort of welcome visiting with Arabs, I found no Palestinian Arab in favor of a Jewish state. Relations on the day-to-day level between the two peoples are friendly and quite unlike what one expects. There is no sense of race tension as one feels it in our South or in encounters with anti-Semites in the Western world. The Arab does not hate the Jew, but he fears being dominated by him, and this fear must be allayed.

In a visit to Amir on the upper Jordan, where the Hadassah was opening a new health center for Jews and Arabs, I encountered a feeling among the Arabs that they somehow risked the displeasure of the British governing authorities if they were friendly with the Jews. I found no evidence to support this suspicion, but I believe that there is much the British could do to improve relations between leaders of the two peoples. I was told that at Haifa the chief engineer, the leading British civil servant of the municipality, had done much in a quiet unobtrusive way toward the success of the local government. Haifa's population—and its City Council—is equally divided between Jews and Arabs. The mayoralty was long held by a respected Arab, succeeded since his death by his deputy, a Jew of Turkish origin. The chief engineer told me that he could remember no occasion on which a split vote in the council had not found Jews and Arabs on both sides. Admittedly it is easier to run a municipality than a nation, but Haifa nevertheless illustrates the fact that the two races can get along in equal partnership.

The earlier day when Arab nationalist and Zionist could work together, as they did in the first honeymoon period after the war, came to an end for two reasons. One was Britain's failure to fulfil the promises made the Arabs on the basis of which their leaders accepted Zionism for Palestine. The other was the Jewish demand, first by implication and then explicitly, for a Jewish state in Palestine. The Jewish State slogan has made political cooperation between Jew and Arab impossible, and left the Jewish homeland completely dependent on British support. The British, feeling that the Jews had to support the Empire under any circumstances, have more and more made their concessions to the Arabs. These concessions have been at the expense of the Yishuv, of French interests, and of the minorities in the Middle East generally. It is because the Jews understand this and feel deeply the needs of their homeless brethren in Europe that they have launched the present civil-disobedience campaign. They scent an attempt to liquidate the Yishuv, and they scent another cruel Evian farce beneath Bevin's fine talk of finding a world solution for the Jewish problem. And I must confess that after being in London, and with all due respect for the good intentions of British Labor, I agree with Palestinian Jewry.

I came away with a great liking and respect for the English people but a great distrust of their officials. I understand the average Englishman's resentment over American interference, and I favor not only American sharing of responsibility but an international solution for the Middle East. British fears of an Arab uprising largely reflect a hobgoblin of their own making; the great powers can impose any solution they choose. I think the equitable solution would be a bi-national state for Palestine and international trusteeship until population parity has been reached between Jews

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and Arabs. I think the powers must recognize the Arab aspiration for some kind of league or federation and put bi-national Palestine into it, and I think they must then provide some form of international guaranty for the Christian Lebanon, the Jewish community in Palestine, and other minorities in the East, but a guaranty free from the taint of "capitulations" in Egypt, a system of protection much abused both by the imperialist powers and the minorities themselves. A settlement of this kind depends, of course, on whether London and Washington are sincerely concerned with stability in the Middle East or merely with appeasing the Arabs in preparation for a new war against the Soviet Union. I do not speak from surmise when I report that from Ernest Bevin down, the British Foreign Office and the Colonial Office seem to be suffering from an obsession on this score, and the Jews are its principal victims.

A bi-national settlement would provide enough immigration certificates over, say, the next five or ten years—about 650,000—to take care of all Jews who must be given a refuge in Palestine. It would establish a Jewish community strong enough to hold its own in the Arab world. It would end Palestinian Arab fears of a Jewish state. It would genuinely fulfil Britain's obligations to both peoples, and it would lay the basis for a stable and developing order in the Middle East, in which British and world interests in communications and oil could be adequately safeguarded without infringing Arab independence. In that context, if the Jews give one-tenth the devotion to Arab relations that they have given to the land, they can build a secure homeland for themselves among their Semitic brethren. This way, I am deeply convinced, lies the only lasting and equitable solution for Palestine and the Middle East.

Britain's Colonial Squeeze

BY ANDREW ROTH

(Author of "Dilemma in Japan")

BLOODY struggles in Indonesia and Indo-China and seething unrest in Burma, India, and other colonies have raised a storm of discussion over the morality or immorality of British actions. Despite the great volume of words the solution of the problem has advanced hardly at all because little attention has been paid to the economic underpinnings of British colonialism. When the problem is viewed from an economic angle it becomes clear that Britain is clinging ever more desperately to its own colonies and reaching out for those of the weak French and Dutch empires as a major part of its effort to bolster its sagging political and economic power.

Few persons realize how far Great Britain has fallen behind the United States and the Soviet Union in economic strength or grasp the full effect of this development on its foreign and particularly its colonial policy. Foreign trade is the crux of the British economic crisis. The island homeland itself is poorly endowed in natural resources: it is self-sufficient only in coal and nitrates; it must import a considerable amount of iron ore. Although agricultural production was increased during the war, a substantial part of its agricultural needs will still have to be imported.

On the other hand, Great Britain is the most important industrial area in the world for its size and population. In use of horse-power per man and in machinery investment it is first in Europe, although it is surpassed by the United States and Canada. Its industrial structure is still somewhat antiquated, but it has perhaps the greatest body of skilled artisans in the world.

Because of this poverty of natural resources combined with plenitude of industrial skills Britain has depended more than any other power on large-scale imports of food and raw materials. Before the war its per capita imports were about four times those of the United States. About three-fifths of the cost of these imports was met by exports, another fifth by income from overseas investments, and the final fifth by the profits of shipping, banking and insurance, and the like.

The tremendous world-wide economic and political changes of the six war years have markedly impaired Britain's ability to pay for imports. There has been a very considerable decline in revenue from overseas investments because more than half of the $16 billion of overseas investments held in September, 1939, has been liquidated. Canada, for example, has succeeded in repatriating $1½ billion of Canadian securities held in Britain. Furthermore, about $14 billion of debts, exclusive of Lend-Lease, have been incurred, mostly in the form of blocked sterling balances.

While the falling off of these secondary revenues has underlined the primary importance of exports of British manufactures, the markets for these exports have shown a parallel shrinkage. British manufacturers have written off their trade possibilities in China and Japan, where American politico-military predominance has virtually squeezed out all competitors. Eastern Europe, with the exception of Greece, has moved into the Soviet economic orbit. Increased self-sufficiency in the dominions as a result of their war effort has cut down markets in that field. In six years of war Canada was able to make an industrial advance equal to twenty-five years of normal peace-time development. By 1944 Canada had become the third largest trading nation in the world and the fourth largest producer of war supplies among the United Nations. Australia, released by the war from British-imposed limitations on industrialization, tremendously increased the amount and diversity of its industrial production.

Elbowed out of these markets, Britain is looking more and more to the lush colonial world for guaranteed markets, cheap sources of raw materials, and favorable terms for investment. The pressing need for American dollar exchange has emphasized the value of Malaya, whose substantial pre-war exports of tin and rubber to the United States earned it

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the title of Britain's "dollar arsenal." The transfer of Rumanian and Polish oil into the Soviet economic orbit has heightened the importance of Burma's oil resources. The increasing economic independence of Canada and Australia is in sharp contrast with the subject economy of India, where British economic controls have successfully retarded industrialization.

Unquestionably the colonial world holds great riches. India, Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, and Indonesia produce 90 per cent of the world's quinine, 80 per cent of its natural rubber, 70 per cent of its tin, and substantial amounts of coal, iron ore, oil, manganese, bauxite, and tungsten. They are the richest rice-growing areas and contain almost a third of the earth's human labor and potential consumer demand.

However, these rich regions are "encumbered" with nationalist movements which, while varying in strength, are powerful enough to compel Britain's leaders to choose between two widely divergent paths—a daring, almost revolutionary economic expansionism or a closed, repressive colonial mercantilism.

There is little doubt that expansionist economics in the colonies could, as Philip Jaffe demonstrates in his new book "New Frontiers in Asia" (Alfred A. Knopf), solve or fend off many of the current problems of Britain and the other advanced industrial countries. An increase in the per capita income of colonial peoples to a mere $200 a year would enlarge the demand for consumers' goods, machinery, and agricultural implements in the British Empire alone by perhaps $100 billion. But such an increase could only be achieved by a daring break with the imperial past and acceptance of the idea that a healthy economy in the advanced capitalist countries requires a substantial improvement in the living standards of the backward colonial peoples. Rent and interest reductions and other anti-feudal agrarian reforms must be instituted in the colonies similar to those which have been announced for Japan. Responsibility and power in the colonial village must be diverted from the big landlord and usurer to the village cooperative. Attention must be shifted from assuring 20 per cent profits for European concerns operating in the colonial world to assuring decent wages—and thus consuming power—for the laborers they employ. Mental energies, instead of being devoted to the task of circumventing the desire to industrialize of the colonial middle classes, must be channeled into planning a long-range industrialization which will bulwark rising living standards in the colony and simultaneously provide a steady market for the machine-building and allied industries of the home country. The achievement of economic parity would undoubtedly pave the way for political equality.

Under current conditions of nationalist strength and economic crisis, the alternative to this program goes far in the other direction. It involves tightening the economic controls in order to guarantee Britain a share of the narrow colonial market. Additional markets can then be obtained by absorbing the colonial possessions of weaker European countries, such as Holland, Belgium, France, and Portugal. Additional revenue can be obtained by tightening the international cartel controls over tin, natural rubber, quinine, and the like.

As between these two alternatives of a liberal, expansionist approach and an old-line, restrictive approach, the burden of evidence indicates that the present British Labor government is continuing the Tory attitude to the colonial problem. Its acts in Burma, Java, and Indo-China have drawn heavy fire from left periodicals like the *New Statesman* and the *Tribune* but have been heartily applauded by the *Economist,* organ of enlightened capitalism, which has further suggested a pooling of the military, economic, and political resources of the British, Dutch, and French empires. In the Commons young Labor back benchers have assailed the colonial policies of their own party leadership, and the Tory opposition—caustic on the subject of other Labor policies—has approved the colonial measures of the Attlee government. The proposed absorption of the India Office into the Dominions Office—a personal election pledge by Mr. Bevin—has apparently been forgotten. Furthermore, there has been no sign of the drastic personnel changes in the India and Colonial offices which would accompany a departure from Tory policy.

The apparent decision of Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Minister Bevin to tread the old colonial path can be traced to a number of factors. The unexpected end of the war shortly after their assumption of power confronted them with a host of problems, some of a pressing domestic character. The older, more conservative Labor leaders are afraid that a liberal colonial policy may result in the loss of the colonies and their revenue and jeopardize Labor's domestic reforms. They also hesitate to arouse Tory opposition on too many subjects, and lean in the direction of appeasing the Tories abroad while weakening their hold on the domestic economy. On the other hand, the younger, more radical members of the Labor Party, who have been strongly anti-imperialist on political and moral grounds, have been rather weak in constructive proposals for freeing the colonies without simultaneously intensifying England's economic crisis.

American economic aggressiveness has greatly stiffened the British attitude. The economic exclusion of the British from American-dominated areas like Japan and China has strengthened Britain's exclusiveness in its own colonies. American terms for the sorely needed $4 billion loan have revealed rather clearly an intention to subordinate the British to the American economy and to secure for the United States a veto power over British domestic economic policies. The Russophobia of the senior Labor leaders makes it impossible for them to look to Russia as a counter to American pressure and consequently strengthens their tendency to rely on the colonies as their chief economic bulwark in the deepening international crisis.

A policy of tightening colonial bonds at this stage in world history is laden with enough dynamite not only to blow the British Empire apart but to plunge the whole world into a third and infinitely more destructive conflict. Although the current upsurge of colonial nationalism is more militant and forceful than anything seen before, it is a Sunday School picnic compared with the next stage, which will probably be a coordinated rising of all Asiatic colonial peoples, including India's myriad millions, who are rapidly approaching a parting of the ways with the Gandhi doctrine of non-violent resistance. Moreover, if Britain moves farther away from the United States and Russia, it is not unlikely that either or both would lend at least tacit support to such a rising.

A diehard colonial policy is also packed with economic

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dynamite. The United States, Britain, and Canada have emerged from the war with greater industrial capacities than they have ever had. At the same time war-time destruction has reduced large areas of the world to penury and thus contracted markets. A policy of maintaining the colonial world at its present abysmally low level of consumption will prevent any substantial expansion of world trade and condemn all nations to an unprecedented economic crisis.

While the colonial question is primarily a British one, it can be solved only as part of a world-wide politico-economic settlement, for it demands American economic agreement, Russian political cooperation, and the assent of the authentic leaders of the colonial nationalist movements. It will be difficult to achieve such world-wide cohesion, but unless we make a determined effort in that direction we may all personally experience atomic fission.

Senator Johnson and God Almighty

BY PHILIP WYLIE

(*Author of "Generation of Vipers" and "Night unto Night"*)

RECENTLY, in a syndicated newspaper debate on Keeping the Atom Secret, Senator Edwin Carl Johnson of Colorado, cosponsor of the May-Johnson bill, was allowed to have his say. His little sermon followed a statement expressing the position of "the scientists," which took the now-familiar line—that is, there is no basic secret, an attempt to enforce any secrecy would invade human rights, inhibit progress, lead to an atomic armament race, and so on.

With this kind of argument the Senator had no truck, but since he has been advocating one of the most disputed bills offered in our history, and possibly the most tyrannical, it is important that his reasoning be given the utmost attention. He presents the case for secrecy on a fundamentalist basis and with a fervor worthy of—typical of—his high estate.

First, he paints a rather thin picture of pre-nuclear international futures. "And then," he says, "God Almighty in His infinite wisdom dropped the atomic bomb in our lap!" Certain distant, prejudiced peoples would question the accuracy of the metaphor, but it will pass in this discussion. "Almighty God," he says a little later, "has placed in our hands His mightiest instrument of peace." The Senator's main idea is clear: We Americans were given the bomb by Almighty God, or God Almighty, whichever you prefer. With it, we shall force peace.

This is where I wish to enter the debate. I think my credentials entitle me to a voice. For I am not only a citizen in reasonably good standing but also one less hastily informed on nuclei than the Senator, having, since 1933, spent many of my days with nuclear physicists. However, Senator Johnson has lifted what must seem to him a sordid squabble above the level of mere worldly knowledge and set it on the plane of Divine Authority. So it is there, rather than in the realm of mere atomic fact, that I must meet him.

"Who's Who in America" does not give the Senator's religious denomination, or his past denomination, or any other such data. I, however, am coming right out with the categorical statement that I am the son of a Presbyterian minister, born and raised in the Presbyterian church. Anybody who has been born and raised in the Presbyterian church will tell you for a fact that Presbyterians yield to none in the interpretation of the will of Almighty God. It is a delicate subject, perhaps, but a Presbyterian minister's son gets a briefing in these matters which gives him a franchise. So if Senator Johnson can speak out bravely about God's will, a humble Presbyterian can also.

What might be called the nucleus of the Senator's Divine Interpretation lies in the following observations: "With vision and guts and plenty of atomic bombs, ultra-modern planes, and strategically located air bases, the United States can outlaw wars of aggression. The courage to assume such a magnificent, God-inspired responsibility is the price of our survival." We ought not to care, the Senator also says, whether other nations like that attitude or not. The bomb, the Senator thinks, should be made our sacred trust.

That's where, as an authority on the Divine Will, I demur. In the Presbyterian church—twenty years ago, I admit—we were taught that temporal things are not sacred. Not even bombs. The inference would have been, indeed, that as long as Americans thought a bomb was sacred, nobody could trust Americans. We were also taught that courage was never the price of anything—a philosophical point obscure to the Senator. And we were told over and over that "right makes might," while the interpretation of Senator Johnson at least nudges or maybe embraces the opposite theory—a theory recently put to an extensive empirical test, which failed.

Now, while I am able to extrapolate on nuclear physics far more rationally than the Senator, who doesn't know what it's all about—and while I will not yield to him as a versed spokesman of the Lord—I cannot, unfortunately, produce a physicist who worked for the Manhattan District and who is also a deacon, elder, trustee, or plate-passer. Most of the scientists I know are not especially religious, although they generally live in suburban houses with privet hedges, seldom run afoul of the law, and will often surprise you with a coup at six no trump or a brisk game of table tennis. But even such men, plain heretics, are willing to agree that Divine Providence has placed the atomic bomb in our hands in the same way it has placed in our hands the kiss-fast lipstick, Boulder Dam, and the roller skate.

They will agree on no other terms. The godly can hardly make a distinction, either. If so, how? And in the matter of the secret, these scientists "are the only people who can share it because they are the only people capable of understanding it." Here, I have not quoted Almighty God but Walter Lippmann, who is a near miss.

My inclination, therefore, after reading the Senator's defense of his bill, is to regard it in part as the work of a misguided brother. His emotional attitude is excellent: in this shrinking planet there is no place for shrinking people; courage—responsibility for all mankind—is necessary to save the lot of us. Nevertheless, the Senator plainly needs far more dope on atoms. Concerning the rest of his Divine Revelation I ask, as an informed Presbyterian, Who does he think he is, God Almighty?

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

General Motors: Sovereign State

IN THESE days, when we are wondering whether the sovereign national state has not become an anachronism, it is rather extraordinary that we should also find ourselves faced with the problem of the state within the state. For this was one of the burning questions of the Middle Ages, when great lords ruled their baronies with little regard for the central government, levying taxes, raising armies, and carrying on war against one another and the king himself. Only after long struggles were their claims to autonomy abandoned and the modern state established.

Today instead of feudal landlords we have feudal corporations which through ownership of the means of production control the livelihood of millions. The decision made by a handful of managerial boards may cause widespread unemployment, may indeed plunge the whole country into depression. Yet these men refuse to accept full responsibility for the results of their actions; they are accountable to no one but their stockholders and in most cases only to a minority of those.

This situation is perfectly illustrated by the stand taken by General Motors in its current dispute with the automobile workers' union. "It should be clear to you and all others," wrote Harry Anderson, vice-president of the company, in a letter to the union, "that we will not negotiate with your union regarding our selling prices and profits." This refusal to discuss the financial situation of the corporation renders negotiation impossible, for the workers' representatives have made a specific claim for higher wages unaccompanied by higher prices. If it can be proved that a rise in pay will unavoidably make automobiles more expensive, the union is willing to withdraw its demand. General Motors has dodged this challenge entirely. It has denied broadly the validity of the economic analysis made by the union in support of its belief that even if car prices were lowered, its wage demands could be met and a handsome profit left to the company, but it has attempted no factual disproof.

One reason for this entirely negative attitude is, I suspect, that the U. A. W.'s estimate of the situation, even though based on admittedly incomplete data, is a pretty accurate one. As a profit-making machine General Motors has an amazing record. In the nine years 1936 to 1944, inclusive, it not only paid out a total of $27.75 on its common stock, or more than the current book value of its shares, but raised its total invested capital out of earnings from $973,000,000 to $1,440,000,000. During these years its poorest experience was in 1938, when it earned a mere 10 per cent on its invested capital; its average return was 16.3 per cent. With post-war sales of cars due to beat all records, offering General Motors the prospect of operating at capacity for some years, there is every reason to suppose that such results will be duplicated if not exceeded. At any rate the Stock Exchange expects this to happen, for General Motors common stock is currently quoted (November 28) at 71⅞, or practically three times its book value. The market, that is to say, is taking into account General Motors' proved ability to earn an abnormal rate of profit on its actual investment of capital.

This is what the published accounts show. If the company's books were opened to an arbitration board, I have no doubt that they would show an even more favorable position. But as Mr. Anderson has declared, "We don't even open our books to our own stockholders"—a remark which deserves to achieve the fame of "the public be damned." Actually, it is not an entirely true statement. What Mr. Anderson should have said is that the books are not open to the majority of stockholders. Thirty per cent of the stock is owned by the managers and their associates, including 23 per cent held by the du Pont Corporation, which has a large number of representatives on the board of directors. We can be sure that this group of stockholders is given all the facts about the company and thus occupies a specially privileged position.

With the remainder of the stock widely dispersed among several hundred thousand owners, this small inner group can run General Motors in its own way. Profits and prices, it declares, are purely managerial business and no concern of the union or the public, even though it cannot be denied that wage-rates are intimately connected with prices and profits. As John W. Snyder, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, said on October 17, "Whether wage increases can be granted, and to what extent, can in the final analysis only be judged by asking a common-sense question, 'How much of an increase can the individual company afford to pay if it is to meet its pay rolls and stay in business?' " General Motors' managers not only claim to be the final arbiters of this question but arrogantly repudiate any obligation to provide factual support for their answer.

General Motors employs some 350,000 workers, representing with their families at least one million persons. Fourteen of the forty-eight states have populations smaller than this total. General Motors has an invested capital of $1,440,000,000, a sum greater than the combined bonded debt of New York, California, and Illinois. General Motors' net sales in 1941, its last peace-time year, amounted to $2,437,000,000, equal to 1/14 of the gross 1941 income of all manufacturing industries. Is it possible to treat an entity of this magnitude on the same legal basis as an incorporated corner grocery? Surely its very size, the influence for good or evil it inevitably exercises on the whole economy of the country, the number of people dependent upon it, affect it with a public interest.

Not only the employees and shareholders of General Motors but the people of the country as a whole have a right to a great deal more information than the management of the corporation vouchsafes. The policy decisions it makes at this time will have a strong bearing on the economic fortunes of the whole country for years to come. If the directors of General Motors, putting profit margins before production, aim at grabbing all that the traffic will bear, they will be laying the foundations for a new depression. This is a matter of the utmost concern to every American, and the Administration, if it does its duty, will recognize the fact by insisting that General Motors supply all the information needed to make possible a public judgment of its actions.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

Mexico, November 29

I SAW General Cárdenas two weeks ago. The last time I had seen him before that was at the end of August on the day when he left the Ministry of War announcing that he was withdrawing completely from political life. Since 1932, when he was military commander of the state of Michoacán and I Spanish Ambassador, I have been with him at so many different moments and in such different circumstances, that I think I can read his mind. He always prefers to listen rather than talk. In fact, I do not know any man who can listen as attentively as he. When Negrín arrived in Mexico this summer to unite the Spanish political groups, I flew with him to see Cárdenas. I kept an eye on my wristwatch. Negrín talked exactly four hours and ten minutes about the whole problem of Spain, internal and international. During that time Cárdenas asked one question, and that was the only moment when he moved his lips. When he talks, he talks with unmatched precision. Anyone who meets Cárdenas for even a short time realizes that he has before him a leader of world dimensions.

The day I went to see him at the Ministry, I was accompanied by one of the most fervent "Cardenistas." The news of his imminent retirement had struck his followers speechless. This man did not dare go into the room with me. He waited for me in the street and as soon as I rejoined him, he asked, "Do you think he is quitting forever?" I replied, "It depends, . . . But if the counter-revolution breaks out, you will not find him in bed."

Two weeks ago this impression was confirmed. Although he did not tell me anything, I left his house absolutely convinced that he was "coming back." I do not know whether he will come back as Minister of War or in another government post. But in whatever capacity, he will soon be back in the midst of the political struggle. He knows it is only he who can stop the counter-revolutionary process which is fermenting in Mexico.

It is a year now since this process began, but the imminence of the Presidential elections has increased its tempo. On Sunday, November 25, Ezequiel Padilla was named candidate of the new Partido Democrático Mexicano. The party convention was very rough. In the two days that it lasted, delegates attacked President Avila Camacho. They attacked the Parliament. They attacked Lombardo Toledano and the unions. But the name of the real enemy, Lázaro Cárdenas, was not even pronounced. He is the one they really fear, and instinctively they shrink from any move which might provoke him to come back—in time.

Once the minor candidates had withdrawn, two remained to face each other in the fight—Padilla and Alemán. Padilla is too well known in the United States to require any description. In fact, that is one of his greatest political handicaps. Mexicans do not want a President who will get into trouble with the United States; but even less do they want a servant of the State Department. Moreover, and in spite of his external features, which so greatly impressed the society reporters—especially the ladies—in San Francisco, he is one of the least Mexican of all the Mexicans I have met. Mexicans are seldom vain, and Ezequiel Padilla is a sort of matinee idol who gets on their nerves. Even when he was in the United States, at the pinnacle of his success, people in Mexico booed every time his face appeared on the screen.

Alemán, on the other hand, is unknown to most Americans. He is one of the youngest presidential candidates ever to run—in his middle thirties. But he has behind him the experience of judge, senator, governor of the state of Veracruz, and Minister of the Interior. It was especially in this last job, during the war, that he showed indisputable ability. He was responsible for the arrest of three Japanese, two of whom were directing an attempt to blow up the Panama Canal and the third a plot to assassinate President Roosevelt.

Considered by the best political observers as certain to win, he is carrying his campaign into every corner of the country. His program includes, together with the continued distribution of land, an ambitious project of industrialization. The great leap taken by Mexico during the war is reflected in this plan. Alemán, with whom I talked at length, does not share the concern of some people over the possible dislocation of Mexico's economy as a result of the war's end. He admits that the expected crisis in the United States may have a severe effect in Mexico. But he thinks that in the intervening years the economic life of the country can be readjusted so that many Mexican industries founded as part of the American war effort can survive and even grow.

This modern approach to the problems of Mexico and the fact that he is the first civilian candidate in many years have drawn to him new sources of support. Besides the great popular groups which traditionally formed the basis of successive revolutionary governments—peasants, workers, civil servants, small business men—one sees this time participating in the campaign leading intellectuals and technicians. They are organized as a Planning Committee whose appearance is a novelty in a Mexican presidential campaign.

But the most impressive phenomenon is the reappearance in the fight of people who years ago had withdrawn from politics—artists, physicians, people of intellectual distinction who had come to believe that the revolution was so well established that they would never be obliged to come to its defense again. They now realize that Mexico is not going to escape the great struggle between right and left which is dividing the world. The clerical offensive whose most audacious demonstration took place in October during the centenary of the Virgin of Guadalupe is waking many people up and drawing others back into the battle. Can anyone doubt that Mexico's great revolutionary leader, Lázaro Cárdenas, will come forward when the struggle reaches its climax?

DEL VAYO

[*Next week's article will deal with clerical reaction in Mexico.*]

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Hungary Samples Freedom

BY HAL LEHRMAN

(Correspondent with the United States Military Mission in Hungary)

Budapest, November 20

THE most startling thing about the Hungarian elections is that they were actually held after all. A maneuver to lump the candidates of every party together on a "united list," divide up the parliamentary seats in advance, form a new coalition government, and then stage a *ja oder nein* plebiscite on election day came very close to success.

The idea originated with the Communists after their crushing defeat in the Budapest municipal elections in October. Certain of the Agrarian leaders, stunned by their own capture of an absolute majority at the City Hall, fell in with it gratefully. They trembled at the prospect of winning an absolute majority in Parliament as well, with all the risks bound up with full power—and responsibility—in a desperate economic situation. The Communists added to the jitters of their Agrarian rivals by muttering darkly about strikes and street demonstrations if "reaction" won at the polls. The Russians, worried about further loss of prestige in a national defeat of the Communists, expressed concern over possible "anarchy and civil war" should the campaign proceed as scheduled.

Agreement "in principle" to torpedo the elections had already been reached among the top figures of the major parties when the Agrarian rank and file revolted. The British Broadcasting Corporation, and later the American radio, strengthened the position of the rebels by roundly denouncing the scheme. Provincial Agrarian leaders forced the party's Budapest headquarters to call a meeting of the national directorate. The uproar at home and abroad caused a general retreat, even on the Russian front. The night before the meeting, the Communists sullenly told an inter-party conference that they would enter a coalition government whatever the results of the election. The project for a united list was formally interred.

The elections were further distinguished by their unquestionable honesty. The election law, though full of loopholes when it was first drafted, was plugged and patched, mainly through the efforts of the Agrarians, until it emerged from Parliament a genuinely democratic document. The ballot was secret; suffrage was universal for persons who had reached the age of twenty; disqualification of voters and pressure on them to vote this way or that were reduced to a minimum. Poll committees functioned with admirable vigilance. This first national election in Southeastern Europe since the war set an excellent example. It was, moreover, the first clean election in all Hungarian history, with the possible exception of 1920.

Another record was set by the size of the vote. Never before had 88 per cent of all eligible Hungarian citizens gone to the polls, and never before had the total number of voters reached 4,700,000. The best previous figures had been 74 per cent and 3,200,000. Narrow suffrage qualifications, terrorism, falsification of returns, and general apathy had made earlier elections more or less farcical. This time the turnout in Budapest was not only large but indicative of political maturity. Though a month apart, the municipal and national elections in the capital were alike in the size of the vote and in its distribution among the parties, demonstrating the people's steady interest and the fidelity of their allegiances.

Of the specific results the most striking was the redoubtable victory of the Agrarians, a party which had literally been driven into the ground a scant thirteen months before. When the Russians first liberated Debrecen in eastern Hungary and sponsored a provisional government there, remnants of the Agrarian leadership were just emerging from a year in hiding. The high Communist leaders came in behind the advancing Red Army and had its backing. The Agrarians had little money and no foreign support.

The Communist Party took the key positions in the civil service and bluffed or bludgeoned its way into the top trade-union posts. It made the new police largely a Communist agency. It dominated the workers by the Russian system of "factory committees" and all other Hungarians by the Nazi system of "house delegates." Nevertheless, the Agrarians have won 245 seats in the next Parliament, against 70 for the Communists and 69 for the Social Democrats.

The defeated parties assert that the reactionaries were responsible for this phenomenal reversal. Certainly a multitude of dubious characters voted Agrarian when they would have vastly preferred to vote for Horthy, Otto, or the Arrow Cross. The one troubling note is the overwhelming extent of the Agrarian triumph. The situation would be much healthier if the Social Democrats, who three weeks before the elections at last broke away from the Communists, had made a better showing. They would then have been established as a formidable alternative party with democratic principles, able to exercise a check on the Agrarians.

But it must not be forgotten that the Agrarians do have a firmly established liberal tradition, despite the vagaries of Tibor Eckhardt and his kind. They are not democrats merely by revulsion against the authoritarianism of the post-war extreme left. Ever since its organization fifteen years ago the party has distinguished itself by its stand against the developing fascism. During the war and until the day of the German occupation it fought openly and courageously against the German orientation, anti-Semitism, and all the other abominations of an expiring feudal society.* In the 1939 elections the Agrarians polled 850,000 of the 3,200,000 votes cast, and achieved this despite the open ballot and the official terrorism.

If the leftist defeat was caused by reaction, the reaction

* According to Hungarian democrats in this country, the Agrarians were dominated by reactionary elements until 1937, when they expelled Eckhardt, who had been chairman of the party.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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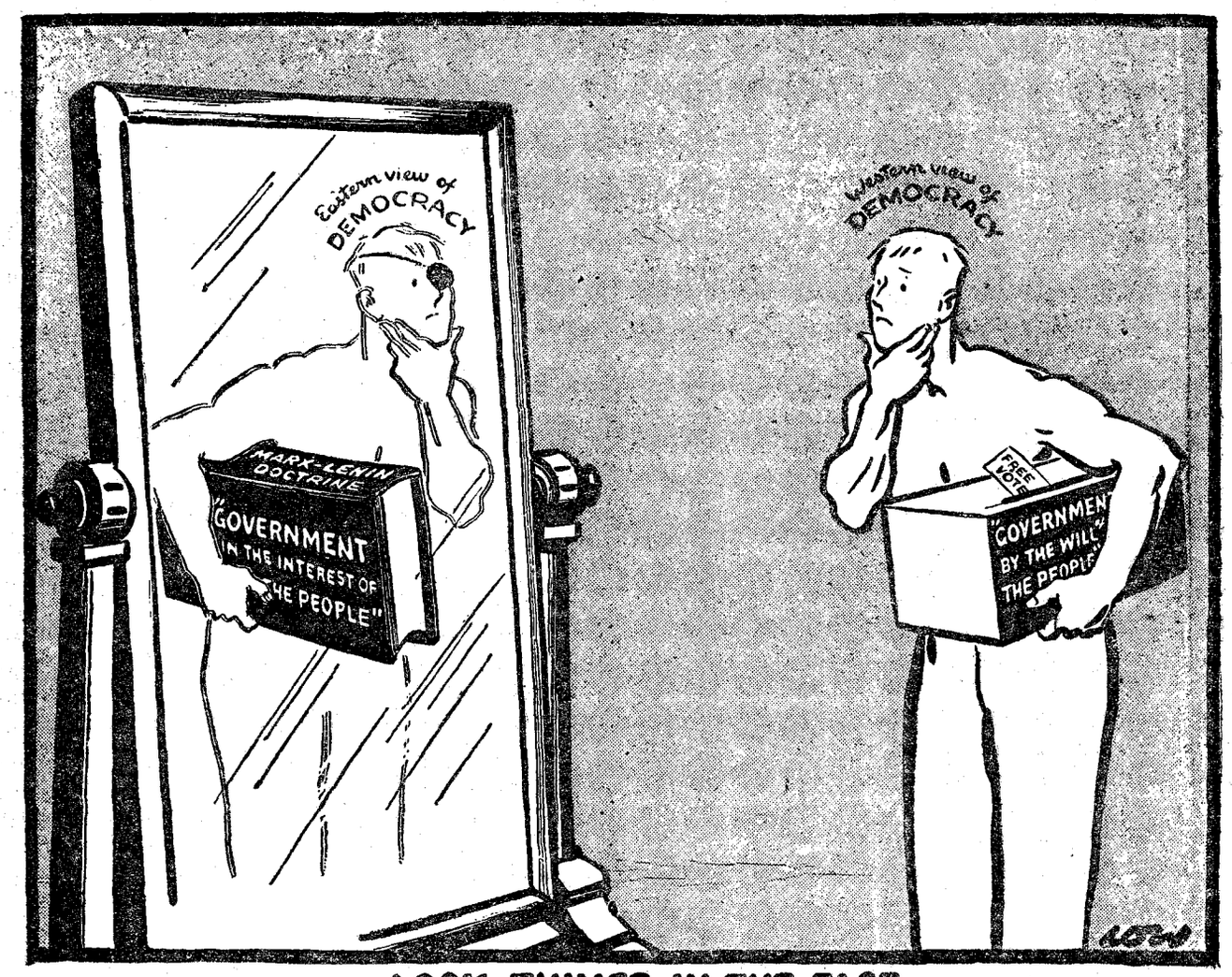
was against the Communist-controlled leftist bloc. The electorate nursed two profound grievances. One was the bloc's intimate association with the occupation army, whose behavior had hardly endeared it to the Hungarian people. This feeling about the Russian army, reinforced by a suspicion that the Soviets planned ultimately to absorb Hungary as a member state or a Russian colony, stimulated the reemergence of a national spirit. The second and more profound grievance was the left's arbitrary rule, the intolerance of its doctrine, its strong-arm methods of proselytizing. Against these the reaction was soundly democratic. The Social Democrats suffered heavily from their connection with the Communists. They ran jointly with the Communists in the Budapest contest and were rejected; they ran separately in the national elections and were rejected again, because nobody believed the separation was more than tactical.

The new all-party coalition Cabinet could not have had a more auspicious launching. All factions pretended to find great comfort in the election returns. Swallowing their mortification, the Communists expressed delight over proof that "every fifth Hungarian is a Communist"—let's say every sixth, to be accurate. The Social Democrats were proud that "Hungary had passed its test satisfactorily." Even the Peasant Party, junior member in the defunct bloc, interpreted its 6.8 per cent of the vote as "a solid basis" for another try.

No coalition in which one party is excessively strong has good prospects for long life. The Agrarians will need infinite resources of tact to suppress a temptation toward truculence in government councils. But the Communists' attitude offers by far the greatest danger. They are frankly waiting to spring. Their leader, Matyas Rakosi, who found employment in the Soviet Ministry of the Interior during his Russian exile, flatly announced on election eve: "We can always order the comrades to go into the streets. Meanwhile the ballot is also a weapon."

The Communists, it is true, can go "into the streets" when they wish: they have the nuclei for disturbances in the factories, and they can play upon the misery of a hungry, bankrupt people. The urban population requires at least 500,000 tons of grain for minimum bread rations, but only 100,000 tons will be available from the total estimated 1945-46 crop. Similar appalling deficits exist in basic foods like meat, fat, and sugar. Reparations and armistice obligations take 60 per cent of the state budget. Only one-tenth of these expenses is covered by revenue; the rest is met by freshly printed money. The consequent inflation is rapidly approaching the astronomical levels of inflation in Germany after the First World War. The dollar, worth 5 pengoes in 1939, now brings 35,000 pengoes. Prices have risen thirty times more than wages. This makes a fertile field for demagogues. The Agrarian leader


Eastern view of DEMOCRACY
MARX-LENIN DOCTRINE
"GOVERNMENT IN THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE"
Western view of DEMOCRACY
FREE VOTE
"GOVERNMENT BY THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE"

LOOK THINGS IN THE FACE

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Zoltan Tildy said to me, "We will solve the economic problem or fall with it."

All factions agree that the crisis cannot be met without foreign aid. The Russian offer of a "cooperation" pact—giving the Soviets control of virtually half of Hungary's economy—met the favor it did because it promised at least some assistance by delivery of supplies and easing of reparations. Feeling was strong throughout the country against selling Hungary out so cheaply, but neither of the other Allies seemed willing to offer concrete help. The first intervention of the democracies against the pact was greeted here with intense thanksgiving because it showed some interest, however vague, in Hungary's survival. The expressed desire for moral and material support from the West is not simply a device to pit the democracies against Russia, although there are many who live for nothing else. Hungary cannot remain independent unless it receives economic aid. Russia alone cannot revive Hungary's economy. The solution must be tripartite.

In this connection the American State Department has revealed an agility and good sense which the writer, as a very minor but perennial critic of that institution, hastens to acknowledge. It is moving with more subtlety, for once, than the usually suaver Whitehall. The British tactic has been to pound on the table in an empty room; the American to speak softly and be heard. Washington's offer to recognize the provisional government if the balloting was honest helped the election of a government worthier of recognition than the deadlocked council of Foreign Ministers could have hoped for at this time. Its note to Moscow concerning the pact, a protest which was clearly marked "not a protest" and shrewdly delivered in duplicate to London, saved Russian face and simultaneously pointed to a way out through tripartite consultation on aid to Hungary. Its dry reminder to Budapest that an exclusive agreement with the Soviets would violate Hungary's existing commitments to the United States offered just the right amount of hope and argument.

I have it on high authority, despite recent suggestions to the contrary, that the bedrock of American policy here remains collaboration among the powers rather than allotment of spheres of influence. Progress varies in the different countries of Southeastern Europe. In Hungary, for the moment, there is a stalemate on Allied Control Commission statutes. The Russians operate on the principle, derived from the indefiniteness of the Potsdam agreement, that the Soviet commissioner need consult his colleagues only on matters which he considers "important." The British and Americans have never accepted this procedure. The result is misunderstanding and continuing irritation. It will be better for Hungary, and for the world, when this problem is adjusted in conformity with the larger pattern of tripartite cooperation.

Greece in Purgatory

BY PHILIP JORDAN

*(*The Nation's *correspondent in Southeastern Europe; formerly chief foreign correspondent for the London* News-Chronicle*)*

Athens, November 18

AFTER having saved Greece—let's face it—from a violent revolution by a minority nearly a year ago, the British troops here may yet be called on to save it from an equally vicious coup by the right. That is the prevailing view here. At present it has no substance, for the very good reason that any immediate application of democratic procedures in Greece would produce an enormous majority in favor of the monarchy.

Not that the Greek people are wedded to the idea of monarchy or that they care a nickel for the dull person of King George, now sweating it out in the comparative ease of Claridge's Hotel in London. But—and this is the key to the whole present situation—they are afraid. They are afraid of a continuation of the almost unimaginable economic chaos; they are afraid of the K. K. E., which is the Greek Communist Party; and they are afraid of Russia. The truly abominable excesses committed by the E. L. A. S. last December left a legacy of hate and fear; and the natural instinct of the majority is to run as far away from that moment of terror as they possibly can. The farthest limit is the Crown, standing as it does for repression of any movement to which the label "left" could be attached. The Crown, then, has become something more than a point of political disputation; it has become a longed-for refuge and a symbol of security. That it would in fact prove nothing of the kind, that the Greek people would almost certainly grow tired of it, almost certainly repudiate it within a year of its reestablishment, most of them know, but that does not prevent them from wanting it.

Small wonder that the elements which have most to fear from communism are trying to put forward the elections, scheduled to be held on January 20 next year, and that those who have most to gain from the introduction of even the mildest Socialist principles are doing all they can to have them postponed. It looks, at the moment, as if the right and center would have their way.

By the present arrangements the elections will be fought on the issue of the Crown. The Crown's future will depend on the result of the elections, whereas it should depend solely on the promised plebiscite, which should be allowed to dispose of the matter one way or another before the elections are required to decide problems infinitely more serious than the fate of a dreary Hohenzollern Dane. Alas for Greece, the elections are to be held before the plebiscite, which, if it ever comes, will merely be adding insult to injury.

From present indications, the left, without exception, will boycott the elections. They state quite categorically that the elections will be faked. Their enemies, they say, are able to obtain electoral booklets—without which no voter can go to the polls—in quantities, while such indispensable docu-

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ments are denied to them, and are padding the electoral rolls with vast quantities of fictitious names.

It is quite impossible for the traveling journalist to check the truth of such charges. The barrier of language is too great, and also many who might want to speak and to prove the point are afraid of the police. As careful an investigation as I have been able to make leads me to believe that there is some substance in what the Communists say but that they greatly exaggerate. They claim, and rightly, that the thousands of their supporters now in jail will be denied the right to vote; nevertheless, it would be a mistake to take at its face value their campaign for a political amnesty. It is not, I am convinced, entirely sincere. The jails are the best recruiting schools that the K. K. E. possesses; martyrs are useful to it, and it makes the most of them; and if the prisoners were let out today, the lives of quite a few of them would almost certainly come to an abrupt end.

This leads to the subject of the "white terror." If by "terror" one means an organized, centrally directed, and systematic campaign of extermination, there is no terror here. There is, however, fairly widespread intimidation of men and women known to have leftist views by those who suffered in the revolt of last December. The Minister of the Interior said the other day that law and order now prevail throughout Greece: he was speaking out of turn; law and order will not prevail so long as men and women are being murdered by his own henchmen and supporters. Bullies are cashing in on the present hatred of all things "left" and are seeking revenge for what happened thirteen months ago. Almost every day reports of beatings, of murder, of rape are printed in the Athens press and cannot be denied. But if they were placed alongside the atrocities of last December, what is happening now would fade into insignificance. It is disgusting and reprehensible and a shame to the authorities that such things should continue, but it must always be remembered that war and revolution have left the Greek people with a fever from which they have not yet recovered. Until that fever dies out, or until the British decide to use their troops as police, excesses will be committed.

Of the glaring and frightful instances of connivance by the authorities I will give but one example. In the Patras district there lives a rich man whose family were murdered by the E. L. A. S. last December. He has declared a private war on all who belong to the left, and he wages it in the shadow of police protection. He openly hunts human beings as though they were game, and he kills them with a knife. Each time he kills he is arrested and put in jail for a week, at the end of which time he pays someone 50,000 drachmas —about $100—and is let out to go hunting again. I have not investigated this case myself, but I am satisfied that the report I have received is true. Such loathsome events are taking place all over the country, and they argue, of course, complete anarchy and a corrupt administration.

Slowly, too slowly perhaps, law and order are being reestablished, so far as they were ever established here; the creation and training of a new gendarmerie by a British subject, Sir Charles Wickham, are steps in the right direction. Sir Charles is a strong man, and although he has no sign of what might be called "left-wing views," he is informed, I am sure, by a deep humanitarianism and a passion for the law. Already his work is bearing fruit; the Athens police for the first time in their history are armed with nothing more lethal than batons. Complaint is made by the left that he will not—in fact, he is not allowed to—take recruits from their side of the fence. This is in some ways a pity, for the habit has grown here of labeling anybody a "Communist" who was ever in the E. A. M. On the other hand the Greek temper is such at the moment that any police force recruited on a wide basis would almost certainly cancel itself out; as a police officer said to me the other day, "One Trojan horse in a country's history is enough."

The economic plight of Greece is easily described. If it were not for UNRRA the country would die on its feet in a week. What UNRRA gives it is almost the only food it gets. It is not UNRRA's business to distribute its supplies; it hands them over to the government and from then on can take no more than a moderately academic interest in their destination. There has been considerable racketeering in the distribution of UNRRA goods, and at one time, it is said, the bulk of them found their way to the black market. Some, but a very small proportion of the whole, are still sold there. The Communists claim that the authorities use UNRRA supplies as a political lever, denying aid to families known to have liberal views. There is some substance in this charge, I believe, but UNRRA insists that it is true only in isolated instances.

British and American policy at present is one of nonintervention in Greek affairs. If that makes you smile, it makes a lot of people here smile, too, for Britain has several divisions of troops here, an act which in itself constitutes the strongest intervention, unless the word has ceased to have any meaning. Actually, if that much-maligned character the British ambassador were allowed to intervene and to use his undoubted authority, Greece could probably have a stable government from now until the elections are held. But he is not allowed to, and British policy toward Greece is not made here but in Whitehall. It may be optimistic to think that a stable government of the left center could be put in power, for although Greece is a country of politicians it is not at the moment a country of statesmen. Men with any experience of ruling are old and set in their ways. There has been no government in the sense in which we understand a "government" in England since 1936, when Metaxas, with the connivance of King George, set up a personal dictatorship. Young and middle-aged men have had no training in the art of government, and they will have to learn.

The British are unpopular with the left, which mistakenly but quite sincerely believes that they want the King to be brought back; they are unpopular with the right because, by and large, and certainly in the districts where their fiat runs, they prevent a policy of widespread revenge being carried out. If they were to go, there would be no freedom in Athens, which is today one of the freest cities in the world. The eighteen daily newspapers here enjoy a freedom of the press that makes a British and even an American journalist green with envy. The other day 50,000 followers of the K. K. E. held a meeting in the Athens stadium, "guarded" only by unarmed police. These fundamental rights would cease to exist if the occupying forces were withdrawn.

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In spite of the wisdom and charm of the United States ambassador, Lincoln MacVeagh, America is beginning to forfeit some of its once high popularity. Washington has turned down a Greek demand that Italy be asked to pay reparations for the frightful damage done here by Fascist thugs and their Albanian satellites. Athens has been told that the Italian economy will not stand the strain of reparations, but because the Greeks have suffered more than any other people in Europe with the possible exception of the Poles, they find this a singularly unpalatable answer. It is difficult for them to understand Allied tenderness toward a former nasty enemy combined with what seems utter indifference to the just claims of a gallant ally. There has been some talk of a dollar loan at a small rate of interest, but the Greeks say that they are not willing to saddle present and future generations with a burden that should in equity be borne by those who put them to fire and the sword. They have unofficially suggested that if any loans for Greek reconstruction are to be made, the Italian people should be burdened with them and compelled to spend the capital here, as the Greeks stipulate. This has been refused. It is impossible not to sympathize with this demand, for although the Allies can properly say that they are spending millions here on relief, the Greeks can as properly say that charity is not what they fought and bled for, and that, anyhow, relief does not restore a railroad system 90 per cent destroyed or repair a country's bridges.

The Greeks are also distressed by the attitude of the Big Three toward the Dodecanese question. There is no doubt whatever that their claim to these islands is just. They say that Greek soldiers were invited to spend their blood to recover them, but now that they have only to be occupied, no Greek is allowed to set foot on the sacred soil.

It is reported here, and I happen to know it is true, that the American and British governments are about to recognize as the legitimate government of Albania the terrorist gang headed by Enver Hodja, who is loathed above all other men as a persecutor of Greeks in the border regions. Such action by the Allies will increase the country's growing sense of isolation, from which any one of half a dozen horrid events may eventually spring.

Greece needs capital to restore its previous modest level of prosperity and is looking to its allies to provide it; but it is relevant to report in this connection that no effort is being made to call in an estimated $330,000,000 held by Greek subjects abroad, the majority of them resident in Egypt, Britain, or the United States. Nearly all great Greek fortunes are held abroad; their owners are ardent patriots so long as patriotism does not limit their profits from the commerce of the world.

However capital is provided, those who lend it should insist on certain conditions. Though Greece is a land of small holders, grave social and economic inequalities exist that accord ill with the temper of the modern world, and no royalist government could be relied on to remove them. The civil service must be reorganized before a real start can be made on reconstruction. Hospitals and schools are desperately needed. Above all, a sense of community responsibility must be developed. It is not enough for Greeks to be good Greeks: what is needed is good modern Greeks.

In the Wind

NOW THAT TEXAS NEGROES have won the right to vote in Democratic primaries, a new type of political organization is springing up—the White Man's Association. One such, in Jackson County, will hold a primary of its own on December 8 to nominate candidates for the unexpired terms of County Tax Collector Charles A. Mitchell and County Treasurer Claudius Branch.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT'S buses in Washington have signs that read, "These buses are for official business only. Any persons using them for any other purpose will be summarily removed from office." A friend reports that Naval Reserve officers are getting in those buses and joyriding like crazy.

DURING THE WAR crates of oranges sent from Spain to England sometimes contained bombs which exploded when the crates were opened. But that is all past. Oranges sent from Spain to England today are wrapped in tissue paper imprinted with the British and American flags, three crowns, and the motto "Unity makes certain peace."

IN ITS ISSUE of November 12 *Time* maintains a nice neutrality as between science and theology. Thus: "Anthropologists no longer look for a definite single place where the human race first appeared on earth. They know that man's ancestors were numerous, varied, and widely distributed before they were fully human. . . . Adam and Eve before the Fall were 'food gatherers,' in anthropological jargon. . . . But after they ate 'of the tree of knowledge' and were driven from the Garden (Genesis 3: 16-19), they became husbandmen."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has nominated Irvin C. Mollison, a Negro attorney of Chicago, to be a judge of the United States Customs Court. This is the first time a Negro has been nominated to the federal bench in the continental United States. The only previous Negro federal judge was William H. Hastie, nominated by President Roosevelt to sit in the Virgin Islands.

THE COOPERATIVE IDEA has come to Broadway. Your Theater, Inc., a new producing enterprise, will divide its profits proportionally among those who buy tickets prior to the opening night of each of its productions. Thus, since the spectators are also the angels, they will eventually govern the choice of plays.

THE LATE WERNER SCOTT, says *School and Society* of November 10, left $19,000 to the University of California for scholarships "to worthy, faithful, and needy students from Hawaii, to Caucasian youths who are not of Polynesian blood."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THREE POEMS

BY ISABEL WILNER

Small Dirge

Small comfort the candle
Of moon on the maple,
The steeple of poplar,
The arch of the birch.

Small comfort the yellow
Of sun on the linden;
Small comfort the ripple
Of wind in the larch.

Small comfort the shadow
Of ash and of alder,
Of elm and of willow
Now that you lie

Where comfort is hollow
And hope is shallow
With dust for your pillow
And dust for your sky.

"And Suddenly the Room" . . .

And suddenly the room grew very small
And I as tall as sorrow. We alone
Walked back and forth from wall to wall

On feet that moved only because
They moved that's all. They couldn't stay
They moved They moved No laws

Could hold them or could make them move
They moved. They moved from wall to wall
From wall to wall From wall to wall
There was no room

Except for sorrow and for me. We both were tall
From wall to wall

No Interval

Rushing for comfort to the embracing walls
Which kept out other flesh with wood and plaster,
I found one moving thing, one moving thing,
A clock was ticking, faster, faster, faster.

Alive with sound, alive with moving wheels,
A clock ticking, this was what I found.
Strange, after cells had ceased to live, this spring
Should mock the dead and living with its sound.

Louder and louder I heard its small strokes fall
With hammer's movement accurately cast
Joining with precision the future to the past,
Future to past, future to past, future to past . . .

The present never came at all.

HAUPTMANN ACCEPTS

BY HERMANN KESTEN

"Ripeness is all."—*"King Lear."*

THE efforts of German anti-fascists deserve respect and help, especially when they attempt to restore to life in the artificially quartered Reich the German civilization that died in 1933. At times, however, these efforts arouse little more than a sense of embarrassment and pity.

In the *Tägliche Rundschau,* a new Berlin newspaper published in the Russian zone, Gustav Leuteritz, the editor, describes a visit to Gerhart Hauptmann in October, 1945. With the president of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Reconstruction of Germany, Johannes R. Becher, and two Russian officers Leuteritz drove from Berlin to Hauptmann's home at Agnetendorf in Silesia—now a Polish province—to ask the aged author to help in the restoration of German culture.

A moving scene! What strange midwives for a new German democracy and culture: two uniformed Russians of the army of occupation, an unknown Berlin editor calling himself "the messenger of spiritual Germany," a poet recently returned from exile in Moscow, and Gerhart Hauptmann, a dying opportunist and perpetual conformist.

As a youth Becher was a radical, expressionist poet whose works were at times esoteric and at others showed the influence of Schiller's verse. In the days of the Weimar Republic the Reichswehr charged him with high treason for his courageous novel "Levisite, oder der einzig gerechte Krieg" (Vienna, 1926), which condemned the use of gas in war. In 1933 he went into exile, first to Paris, then to Moscow. He described his youth in an interesting novel, "Abschied" ("Departure"). He was coeditor of the Communist exile publications *Das Wort* and *Internationale Literatur.* There he attacked, in prose and poetry, the barbarism of the Nazis and the writers who had gone over to them, Gerhart Haputmann among others. In the summer of 1945 Becher, a member of the German Freedom Committee in Moscow, returned to Berlin in the wake of the victorious Russian armies and became president of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Reconstruction of Germany.

In his youth the eighty-three-year-old Gerhart Hauptmann, the patriarch of German literature, wrote a few outstanding dramas of social content, among them the famous "Weavers." Later in life he gave up his social ideals, his Social Democratic friends, and his naturalistic style. He built

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castles, collected works of art, amassed millions, and contracted enormous debts. Through the skill of his hairdresser he achieved a certain coarse resemblance to a popular portrait of Goethe. In addition, he wrote symbolic dramas, patriotic pageants, pitiful prose works, and simple-minded festival plays. The Nobel prize, which he obtained in 1912 at the age of fifty, was nothing but a tribute to the beautiful past of an author who had outlived himself.

During the First World War Hauptmann wrote bloodthirsty poems against the Russians and the French. He put himself at the disposal of the Weimar Republic as he had previously served the empire and its supreme commander; he was always ready to be praised for the services of his youth and his no longer existing convictions, and he became the echo of all the changing political regimes of his time. After some initial friction with the new master, Gerhart Hauptmann put himself completely at the disposal of Hitler and his millennial Reich. He was ready to acknowledge the applause of the public arm in arm with such atrocity-manufacturers as Hitler and Goebbels. In 1933 he sent a birthday telegram to Mussolini. He wrote, "I say yes!" when Germany left the League of Nations. Indeed, Hauptmann was not ashamed to have his plays performed by the Nazis in Krakow and Paris after the Poles and the French had been subjugated.

Confined to his armchair, Gerhart Hauptmann greeted the two Russians in uniform, the editor from Berlin, and the Communist poet. He showed them the well-preserved duplicate of his letter to Maxim Gorki written in 1922, probably as evidence of his moral and political identity. "I could not state better what I have to say than I did in this letter." That may be so. A political chameleon as aged as Hauptmann will ultimately return to an old position in the merry-go-round of time.

The president of the Cultural Association for the Democratic Reconstruction of Germany said: "We have become a spiritually and intellectually impoverished people. We want you, Gerhart Hauptmann, to live again. I beg for your help. . . . Millions are waiting for an encouraging word from you." Hauptmann, "visibly moved," answered in these classic terms, repeatable as a Homeric formula, and repeated by him on every improper historical occasion: " I put myself at your disposal. I am ready."

Leuteritz's comment was: "We thus achieved the purpose of our visit: to free the greatest living German author from his isolation and to restore to him the beautiful conviction that the entire cultural world has not forgotten him, indeed, needs him. . . . The momentous event of this meeting with the messengers of Russia and of spiritual Germany was Gerhart Hauptmann's promise to cooperate in the work of reconstruction to the best of his ability."

The visit of the Russian and Berlin delegates lasted three days. They saw that the author had had the heroes of his plays painted on the walls of his room by a German professor, one Avenarius. They saw the "still sprightly, high-spirited" wife of Hauptmann, much younger than her husband. They met a friend of the family, Gerhart Pohl, editor of a radical leftist periodical before 1933, after 1933 a member of Goebbels's Chamber of Culture *(Kulturkammer)*. They saw the author's masseur, one Metzkow, the author's secretary, Fräulein Anni, the author's servant and gardener, one Stiev—who in the naturalistic style of the early Hauptmann dramas cited moving conversations between "the master" and himself. They saw the author's personal physician, a Dr. Schmidt; they saw the author's art treasures. The luxury of the home of the man who perpetually collaborated with all systems was doubly enjoyable at a time when many Germans were living in cellars and cooking their watery broths over open fires in the streets. They were pleased by the "chivalrous smile" of the author, "who never grew as loquacious as when he came to speak about his own writings," although he "hardly any longer knew his way around in his own works." They also uncovered evidence of Hauptmann's weakness of mind in verse which Leuteritz reproduced in his account of the interview. In one of these poems, written on April 14, 1945, Hauptmann addresses Goethe, whom he had imitated in his coiffure and facial wrinkles for a lifetime, though unable to equal him in intellect and style: "Forgive me, Goethe; I no longer call your story a miracle but rubbish. . . . I hold your little volume in my hand, O you unsuspecting philistine. . . ."

And this is Germany's "greatest living author"? Shortly before, the spiritual messengers and their friends had thought differently. Over the Berlin radio and through the pen of a former president of the Prussian Writers' Academy, Walter von Molo, the author of novels no more than patriotic, and of articles celebrating the banishment of free German authors and the burning of their books, these spiritual messengers had called for Thomas Mann to return home. On that occasion they had called him "the greatest living German author."

When Mann publicly answered that he would not return but would remain an American citizen and a resident of California, "the spiritual messengers of Russia and Germany" quickly found another "greatest living German author." He was likewise a Nobel prize-winner and world famous, but he was a profiteer of the Hitler regime. Unfortunately, he had lost his talents and his humanity fifty years before, his conscience and his good repute twelve years earlier, in 1933.

I find it touching to see Russian and German Communists honoring an old man because of his past Social Democratic convictions. But is there among living and dead German authors no better symbol for the renaissance of moral and spiritual life in Germany than the old, worn-out weathercock, Gerhart Hauptmann?

(Johannes R. Becher, by the way, seems to have been of the same opinion as I in 1932, when, on the occasion of Hauptmann's seventieth birthday, he wrote an article against him entitled Hauptmann, der Repräsentant.)

America and Britain

AMERICA'S STAKE IN BRITAIN'S FUTURE. By George Soule. The Viking Press. $2.75.

IT is reliably reported that Lord Keynes, at one of the recent meetings on Lend-Lease settlement and post-war Anglo-American trade, said to Leo Crowley: "We British are watching America with immense interest today, for we think that though you may enjoy prosperity for perhaps four or five years you will run into very great difficulties at the end of that time, from which we think you may be able to extricate yourselves by the skin of your teeth." This remark

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provides both a footnote to Mr. Soule's book and ample confirmation of what he has to say about British attitudes today toward the United States.

"America's Stake in Britain's Future" sets forth in the clearest possible terms just what it is that Britain fears about our future policy and just what we ought to fear. It explains with admirable clarity the problems inherent in world trade balances, the mistakes in policy, especially American policy, after the last war, and the economic causes of the depression of the '30's. The reader can find here an excellent exposition of Hobson's theory that the disparity in rates of investment and savings constitutes one of the chief causes of depression. Indeed, the clarity of the exposition of this highly technical subject affords a model for all popular writing. Having stated the problems, the author argues, with relentless logic, the case for America's own self-interest, for full employment at home and collaboration with Britain abroad.

Mr. Soule is no dreamy Anglophile. He brushes aside—perhaps somewhat too cursorily—the idea that Britain and the United States are natural allies because of "our common heritage and our common speech," pointing out that though we use the same words, we often mean different things by them. No one can fail to agree in part, but no one reading, for example, the passage from the White Paper on Education quoted on page 98 can fail to feel that here is a "well of English undefiled," as much American as British. The important fact, however, is that we are natural allies because our economic interests are essentially complementary, and our respective positions in the world inevitably make us collaborators. At no point does Mr. Soule so much as suggest that this harmony of interest between Britain and the United States need imply antagonism toward other nations, notably Russia. On the contrary, he makes a case—an incontrovertible one, I think—for the idea that an enlightened policy of cooperation between the two countries will spell peace and prosperity for the rest of the world, and that a contrary policy will inevitably lead to economic distress and another war.

It would be hard to find a better summary of such economic theories as those underlying the Bretton Woods plan, the Beveridge plan, and similar economic ideas, the full meaning of which has not, until now, been either so admirably stated and analyzed or gathered together to show their interrelations. Certainly one of the best aspects of this excellent discussion is the way in which the author manages to show the relation of Bretton Woods to full employment, to cartels, to an expanding world economy.

One minor criticism may be made. Mr. Soule assumes, it seems to me, that our country is actually richer in natural resources than it is. We are richer than Britain, certainly, but out of about 150 essential materials we produce within our borders only 8. We have to import, for instance, almost all our ferro-alloys, not to mention such important items in our diet as coffee, tea, cocoa, much of our sugar, fats and oils, and so on.

The manuscript of this book must have gone into printing only shortly after V-J Day. It is therefore interesting, and depressing, to review the events which have taken place since then and consider how far we have traveled from the principles set forth here. First, we have abruptly canceled Lend-Lease shipments and put Anglo-American collaboration under a severe strain. Second, we have virtually shelved the Full Employment bill; so that people are now talking of eight million unemployed by next spring instead of the original six million which we had accepted as a temporary figure. Third, we are lifting restrictions of all sorts upon private business with dizzying rapidity; so that our export and import positions are both in chaos. Fourth, we have given employers reimbursement for cut-backs on war orders and have virtually promised them cancelation of excess-profits taxes, whereas we have done nothing to ameliorate the position of wage-earners; these policies will lead to an even wider spread between the rate of investment and the rate of savings, which, as Mr. Soule has pointed out, many American economists, and virtually all British economists, believe to be one of the chief causes of cyclical depressions. Fifth, we are demobilizing our armed forces without any plan for reemployment. And sixth—though this is perhaps outside the scope of Mr. Soule's discussion—our foreign relations generally have worsened unbelievably, partly because of our policy on the atomic bomb, but also because we are now an isolated country of private entrepreneurs in a world of social planning.

It is not too late for us to make a change in our policies, but the time is short. Every patriotic American should get a copy of Mr. Soule's book and live with it until he has mastered its ideas. Then he should insist that Congress take action.

ETHEL M. THORNBURY

Joseph Smith, Mormon Prophet

NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY. By Fawn M. Brodie. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

NOTHING could be more baroque than the life history of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon church. He was already in his own lifetime a mythical character. He founded the Mormon church almost, it might be said, by a series of accidents which, logically considered, would never seem to lead to their amazing result, a stable institution. Step by step, no one could have foreseen the way. It is all a beautiful maze, the Mormon pattern, winding and rewinding in an area where, though the mystery may be explained empirically, it remains a mystery transcending the limitations of actual experience.

Looking for the impossible treasure said to have been buried by a much-publicized but purely hypothetical Indian tribe of vanished Semitic mound-builders, Joseph Smith discovered the golden plates which he said had been buried by the angel Moroni, guardian spirit of the lost tribe. The golden plates rustled in that Arabian dream world which for so many people was more real than the harsh American wilderness, where they were more likely to encounter a skunk than an angel. The golden plates were invisible to everybody except Joseph Smith, an unschooled farm hand who in another society might have been an anthropologist or an archaeologist or at least the writer of a literary epic as pale as "Ossian." Joseph Smith was not a man to keep a deep secret to himself. He devoted himself to translating the microscopic picture handwriting on the invisible golden plates. When the first hundred or so pages were stolen by the skeptical wife of his

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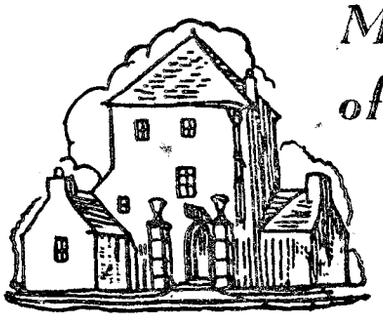

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private secretary, with the challenge that he should then repeat exactly what the angel had said, Smith, rather than deny his previous statement or present a garbled version, merely proceeded from the political to the religious character of the lost Semitic Indians—who, our later research shows, never did exist. Had the manuscript not been stolen, it is possible that he would not have stumbled into founding a great religious order, where were reflected the many facets of his own personality, itself the result of a fervid community imagination.

The angel Moroni, unlike most angels of that era, was not in favor of an arid celibacy in the midst of nature's fruitfulness. Just as the impotent angel was perhaps the vision of an impotent old leader, this angel, appearing to a young man, was highly potent, scattering spores as big as the purple grapes in autumn. The angel of a lost people preached, ironically enough, but perhaps only because of his experience with a lost people, polygamy and the infinite progression of the exuberant human race. Joseph Smith liked women, all women, the old as well as the young, and so his religion glorified human potency. For every wife, another star in heaven. You pursued your many wives, all fifty of them, from earth to heaven and beyond. And of his own wife, Emma, who astutely objected to all this carnality, which she believed had never been recommended by the angel Moroni at all, Joseph said when temporarily she fled from him, "I will have her back although I must pursue her into hell."

From court records of cases in which Joseph Smith was involved, from newspaper articles, memoirs, letters, and the dossiers of the women who were successively sealed to the prophet in marriage, Mrs. Brodie has recaptured the spirit of a man whose history remains, just as he said, unknown, unknowable. He was a mystery even to himself. He was killed at the age of thirty-nine by blackface murderers. It was at sunset, and the sun was hidden behind a cloud. When one of them rushed forward to cut off his head, the sun came out from behind the cloud, and the people fled silently away.

MARGUERITE YOUNG

BRIEFER COMMENT

Not Enough

DURING THE VICIOUS OPEN-SHOP DRIVE after World War I, when injunctions were fluttering down on the unions like leaves from the trees and labor everywhere had its back to the wall, William Allen White put up in the window of his Emporia *Gazette* a sign reading, "We are for the striking railroad men 49 per cent." And that is the pay-off on the Kansas editor who is now on his posthumous way to sainthood in the Liberal Church. To be sure, his dear friend Henry J. Allen, Governor of Kansas, had set up a Kansas Industrial Court, with White's support, for the outlawing of any and all strikes, and Henry went through the motions of arresting Will for this 1 per cent less than half-hearted support of a life-and-death struggle in which better men than William Allen White were being beaten up by legionnaires and Kluxers, rotting in jails, losing their jobs, their little savings, their homes, their all—and not writing Pulitzer-prize editorials about how nice free speech is, either.

In his obeisant, wretchedly organized, distressingly fulsome biography of White, "A Man from Kansas" (Putnam's, $3), David Hinshaw compares White's prize-winning editorial on free speech written at that time to Milton's "Areopagitica." And that is the pay-off on David Hinshaw, who apparently spent his life on his knees alongside the much-publicized country editor's cluttered (it would have to be cluttered) desk.

Everyone knows that William Allen White was a sweet, lovable, outgoing personality who was for decency and against bigotry and intolerance, but to attempt to make out as a "great" philosopher and a symbol of all the democratic virtues a man who could support Harding and write of Coolidge that he was "a strong man" who "never let his courage get the best of his judgment" is just a bit too thick. After all there must be more to democracy than saying "Howdy" to a Negro worker on Emporia's Main Street.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Life on a Destroyer

THERE IS A FRESHNESS and sincerity about "Lower Deck," by Lieutenant John Davies, RNVR (Macmillan, $2), which gave much pleasure to one tired reader of high-pressure war books. The book describes war-time life from the standpoint of a single gun crew on board a British destroyer. Its moments of intense action are set down with simplicity, and for that reason these passages are very telling. Lieutenant Davies has a fine but not too conscientious sense of the personality of his gun crew. He says what he feels about his men, and not, as is too often the case in books of this sort, what he feels should be said. There are no heroics, and there is a great deal of authentic rough-and-ready humor. The style is excellent for its purpose, and there are none of the usual journalistic disfigurements.

RALPH BATES

CONTRIBUTORS

ISABEL WILNER grew up in China and the Philippines, coming to this country in 1938 to attend William Smith College. She was one of the winners of the Durham Poetry Award of the University of New Hampshire Writers' Conference in 1944 and 1945. At present she is a member of the staff of the Boys and Girls Department of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

HERMANN KESTEN is a German novelist and playwright, an exile from the Third Reich, who is now living in the United States. He is the author of "The Children of Guernica," and of "Copernicus and His World." He will publish a novel, "The Twins of Nürnberg," in the spring.

ETHEL THORNBURY was, during the war, an economist for the Office of Strategic Services and the Foreign Economic Administration.

MARGUERITE YOUNG is the author of "Angel in the Forest: A Fairy Tale of Two Utopias." She has also published two volumes of poetry.

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GHOSTS OF SLAIN JEWS AT STATE DINNER

WASHINGTON—There were ghosts at the state banquets for Prime Ministers Attlee and Mackenzie King here last night—the ghosts of the 6,000,000 Jews the Germans murdered in Europe during the war.

Flesh and blood rabbis represented the wraiths. A delegation of several hundred of them has been in Washington for the past two days to urge that Palestine be opened up to Jewish immigration.

Senator McKellar, president of the U. S. Senate, together with Senators James Mead and Arthur Capper and many representatives, headed by majority leader John McCormack, receive and address the Zion march which was sponsored by the Zionist-Revisionist Organization of America, headed by Rabbi Dr. Morris M. Rose.

But the wraiths were more real, in a sense, than the rabbis. For it is the terrible fate that befell that 6,000,000 that is the primary force that moves American policy on Palestine. This force is a desire to save the Jews who survive.

(Wallace R. Deuel, Chicago Daily News, Nov. 13, 1945)

On the steps of Congress—at the gates of the White House—in front of the British Embassy, these men of God not only voiced the last echoes of the six million Jews who had perished in Europe, but also uttered the warning *that there can be no peace for the world until justice is done to the Jews.*

The internationally significant Zion March on Washington with the unprecedented news interest which it has aroused in the American press from coast to coast, *is the beginning of what must become a ceaseless, unrelenting drive* to achieve the following program, presented by the Rabbis to the White House:

1. The immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 Jews who had escaped the slaughter houses and gas chambers, according to the recent request by President Truman.

2. The immediate abrogation of the illegal White Paper—the barrier which prevents the return of European Jews to their ancestral land.

3. The creation of an American-British commission for the systematic evacuation of almost two million surviving Jews from Europe to Palestine.

4. The immediate release of thousands of Jewish patriots whom the British administration has thrown without investigation or trial into concentration camps in Palestine and the waste lands of Sudan and Eritrea.

Every right-thinking American must dedicate himself to the complete evacuation of European Jews to Palestine; to the furtherance of Jewish immigration into Palestine despite the White Paper and under all circumstances; to the bolstering of our heroic underground movement in Palestine.

This is a task in which you are urged to participate.

The American people fought and died that freedom and justice should prevail! We spent billions of dollars to help men fight for their freedom.

We dare not lend our wealth to help England kill free men in Palestine.

This is a battle for all free men who believe in Justice and righteousness!

We invite you to help! Tremendous financial resources must be mobilized in order to surmount the obstacles that lie in our path. It is a race against time. Act now!

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ZIONIST-REVISIONIST MOVEMENT

1—Our Movement was instrumental in bringing into Palestine tens of thousands of Jews through the extra-legal immigration in spite of the White Paper and thus rescued them from the Maideneks and Oswiecims.

2—Our Movement was foremost in the underground activity against the Nazis in Europe and particularly in the heroic last stand of the Warsaw Ghetto.

3—We organized the movement for a Jewish Army in the beginning of the war and carried on a struggle despite all obstacles. These efforts culminated in the establishment of a Jewish Brigade in which thousands of Jabotinsky's disciples fought heroically on all the battlefronts.

4—Through our plan of evacuation, supported by many European governments, we made every effort to avert the oncoming catastrophe which struck the Jews of Europe. We broke the conspiracy of silence which enveloped the Jewish tragedy. Our representatives from Palestine and Europe bent every effort in the rescue work.

5—We organized the historic march of the Rabbis on Washington, the most stirring expression of Jewish fate and need voiced in the nation's capital to date.

This record indicates not only the achievement of our Movement but also the validity of the principles upon which it is founded. Today there is general agreement that our ideology, methods and tactics stand vindicated by the course of events to date and by their trend toward the future.

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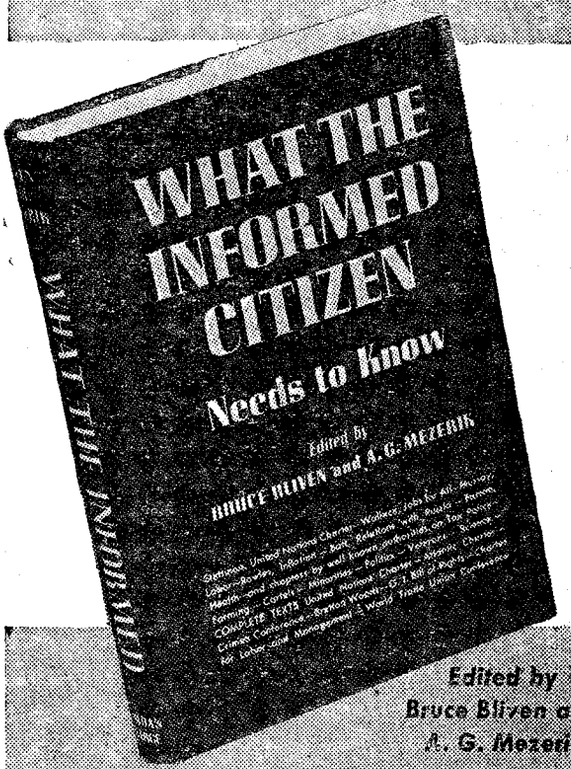

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Advertising in this issue will be charged at the regular rates. It is expected that the 52,000 print order permitted by our paper supply will be a complete sellout.

Forms for the December 22 issue close Monday, December 10; we must be ready to print by noon, Thursday, December 13.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN HIS last season with the New York Philharmonic Toscanini conducted three performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, of which the first and second impressed me, in the *Allegro* movements, as being tense and driving, but the third as being relaxed and spacious, as though it were the product of an equilibrium that had not existed in Toscanini during the first two. Since there was no possibility of checking the impression by rehearing the performances, I began to wonder whether I had really heard the difference; until a couple of years ago, when I had a chance to hear recordings of two astonishingly different performances of the Ninth that Toscanini gave with the N. B. C. Symphony in 1938 and 1939, with the first movement driving ahead relentlessly in one, but relaxed and spacious in the other (neither, incidentally, was satisfactory to Toscanini). And recently recordings of the broadcasts enabled me to hear the equally astonishing difference between his performance of the "Eroica" a year ago and the one on V-J Day: the first movement so much more *con brio* in the one a year ago. It is not, obviously, that he decided the movement should be less *con brio* in the V-J Day performance; but that conditions within himself of which he was unconscious, and over which he had no control, made it come out that way.

After these instances I am inclined to trust my impression that there was a tenseness in the recent broadcast performances of Brahms's Fourth and Schubert's Seventh that was not in the performances of three and four years ago. It was this tenseness that disturbed me in parts of the works; not the conceptions which disturb some listeners. Those who are disconcerted by Toscanini's single tempo throughout the final passacaglia movement of Brahms's Fourth have been corrupted by the performances they have heard—the performances not only of Stokowski and Koussevitzky and Ormandy, but of German conductors who also slow down for Variations 10-15 in the face of Brahms's direction that the value of the quarter-note in these variations remain what it has been until then. It is only by maintaining the pace of the eight-measure ground-bass inexorably in all its repetitions that the cumulative impact of the repetitions—which is the effect of the passacaglia form—is achieved. Weingartner does this in his recorded performance; and Toscanini does it with greater power.

As for his unusually fast pace in the second movement of Schubert's Seventh, I will repeat what I said about it after his performance four years ago: "Invariably I am startled by the first measures, and then go along easily with the rest of the movement; but at the Philadelphia performance I thought I understood what was behind that fast pace: the feeling for purity—that is, simplicity, economy, subtlety—of style, which leads him often to set a single, subtly modeled tempo for an entire movement, and which in this instance leads him to set a single pace not only for the opening section of the second movement and for the alternating section but for the catastrophe in the middle of the movement, so that the increasing urgency of this passage is achieved, powerfully, without any acceleration, and only a slight broadening at the end is sufficient to give shattering power to the chords with which the passage breaks off into silence." In the recent performance Toscanini did accelerate toward those catastrophic chords, with lessened effect; and this was part of what impressed me as a less successful integration of the movement, resulting from the tenseness I felt in the performance. But the building up of momentum in the following movements, to the climax in the great coda of the finale—this was as breathtaking as always.

On Columbia's November list is the cantata "Alexander Nevsky" (Set 580; $5.50), into which Prokofiev expanded some of his music for Eisenstein's film. A couple of passages—"Russia Under the Mongolian Yoke" and "The Crusaders in Pskov"—are effective musical soundtrack; but the music for the battle on the ice, a modern Russian equivalent of "The Ride of the Valkyries," as well as the choral proclamations of the might of Alexander Nevsky and the Russian people, and the patriotic lament of the Russian girl—these are, in their different ways, pretty terrible. The performance by the Philadelphia Orchestra, the Westminster Choir, and Jennie Tourel under Ormandy's direction seems good; and its sound on the records is the best Columbia has achieved with the Philadelphia Orchestra so far: clear, clean, bright, and agreeable to the ear.

What brought "The Ride of the Valkyries" to my mind was Columbia's recording (Set 581; $8.50) of Act 3 of "Die Walküre." It was a number of

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LOUIS ADAMIC

Editor-Publisher

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years since I had last heard the work; and I found myself laughing at what I had laughed at the last time—the orchestra's galloping and whinnying, the Valkyries' ho-yo-to-ho-ing, their traditionally tremolo-ridden shrieking, Wotan's harumphing, Wotan's and Brünhilde's flinging back and forth of Wagnerian declamatory style; nor could I hear out with patience, much less take seriously, the subsequent pomposities that many thousands of people find overwhelming. Some of the tremolo-ridden shrieking in the early scenes is Traubel's; in the sustained phrases later on her voice is steady, voluminous, and lustrous in its lower range, but becomes constricted and sharp-edged as it rises. Janssen's singing also is poor in the explosive declamation of the early scenes, but very good in the sustained phrases later on. Rodzinski drives through the act like a bulldozer. The recorded sound of the performance lacks brightness; and the violins are too weak in relation to the rest of the orchestra. The German and English texts are not provided with the records as they should have been.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"A SOUND OF HUNTING" (Lyceum Theater) is another play about the war. The action—such as it is—takes place in a ruined house at Cassino, and Harry Brown, the author, does manage to carry the conviction that he was there. This, one might think, ought to guarantee an interesting play, and this one is, as a matter of fact, never exactly dull. But neither, unfortunately, is it ever profoundly interesting, very moving, or at all unexpected.

One difficulty is, no doubt, the slightness of the single incident, which is stretched out over three acts of normal length and doesn't quite reach. Another, and I think more serious one, is that what the author has to say has been said a great many times before, even though he may be better qualified than most to say it. That war is a dull as well as a dirty business and that the men who fight it act heroically but despise heroics—beyond this Mr. Brown has little to communicate. He does, to be sure, hate war correspondents, and the specimen he presents is the only obvious caricature in his gallery of portraits, but hatred of war correspondents is hardly his subject, and one is left wondering what that subject is. The talk is good talk and sounds convincing, but it is the kind of talk we have come to expect from war-weary soldiers ever since "What Price Glory?" set a fashion, and though the conversation of Mr. Brown's characters is probably more accurate and less exaggerated than that of Captain Flagg and his associates, the very exaggerations of "What Price Glory?" gave it an impact which "A Sound of Hunting" fails to achieve. It may seem odd that Mr. Brown, fresh from the greatest war in history, should lack a subject, but that seems to be his chief difficulty. He appears to know how to write. At the moment he does not appear to have anything to write about.

Books in Short

"48 Million Tons to Eisenhower," by Lt. Col. Randolph Leigh (Infantry Journal, $2). The Services of Supply of the United States Army in the European Theater of Operations accomplished, it is claimed, the "greatest logistical job" in the history of warfare between D-Day and V-E Day. This book offers proof of that claim, buttressing its case with statistics, charts, diagrams, and pictures. For the professional soldier the record should prove valuable; for the armchair military critic it is a "must."

"Population Roads to Peace or War," by Guy Irving Burch and Elmer Pendell, Foreword and Postscript by Walter B. Pitkin (Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D. C., $1 and $2). The new Malthusians who have collaborated in this work believe that attainment of the four freedoms will be impossible until the human race learns to breed for quality instead of quantity. Though couched in pseudo-scholarly form, this is eugenic propaganda rather than a scientific study. Population is a fascinating subject which will continue to attract dogmas until the interplay of biology, psychology, and economics is better understood than at present.

"Post-War Markets," edited by E. Jay Howenstine (Public Affairs Press, $2.50). National production at near-capacity implies a vast increase in average incomes as compared with pre-war years and a new pattern of spending. Using the well-known studies of S. Morris Livingstone and other economists associated with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the compilers of this book discuss the meaning of this change in terms of the distribution problems of leading industries.

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Letters to the Editors

Room for the Jews?

Dear Sirs: The gentleman from Georgia feels a momentary qualm concerning the refugee Jewish problem. The gentleman also displays a willingness to tolerate the entrance of the Jews provided they are settled in some section quite remote from his immediate vicinity. Give them Arizona, certainly, but Georgia? I seem to remember large sections of that state as quite thinly populated not so very long ago. Just so that there may be no accusation of the pot calling the kettle black I hasten to add that there are large sections of California thinly populated also. B. F. STEVENS, SR.

Antioch, Cal., November 22

Objection

Dear Sirs: In your issue of November 10 Ernest M. Whitefish of Canon, Georgia, proposes that Arizona be opened to the refugee Jews of Europe. May I point out several serious difficulties involved in such a project. (1) The land of Arizona belongs to the people now there just as the land in Georgia belongs to the Georgians. (2) Assuming that this difficulty could be overcome and all the Jews actually settled in Arizona, they would eventually become American citizens and as such could leave this state and locate in any other. They would thus assume their two-thousand-year role as parasites among other people—as they have been, for example, in Europe.

GEORGE WILLIAMS

Clarkston, Wash., November 18

Joseph Freeman's G. I.'s

Dear Sirs: Joseph Freeman's America's Homesick Army, particularly Part II, gives a highly misleading impression of the G. I. To believe Mr. Freeman, the American soldier is a shining example of democratic virtues, a roving man of freedom who spreads the gospel wherever he goes. It makes a very pretty picture, but it just isn't true.

This view is more than misleading; it is dangerous, because if we accept Mr. Freeman's picture, we may lose sight of the vast job that needs to be done in constantly orienting the G. I.—or future civilian—to a militantly anti-fascist point of view.

Before the publicity on Belsen and Buchenwald hit the papers, it was almost impossible to make G. I.'s believe Nazis behaved that way. They dismissed all such stories as "propaganda." Their attitude was much the same toward all army efforts to present the facts of international life—Lend-Lease, for example, or the importance of unity among the Allies.

Mr. Freeman and other writers glibly suggest an army education program as the answer for the overseas G. I.'s attitudes. We need to recognize that the problem is much deeper and needs more radical methods of treatment. If the G. I. had to see a concentration camp before he understood the nature of Nazism, our country has failed miserably in explaining the issues of the war.

CPL. SIGMUND SHLAKMAN

Brooklyn, November 14

How It Came About

Dear Sirs: It wasn't a very long story, and it was hidden halfway down the column. It said that several generals had luncheon on the first Liberty ship in Manila which had been converted to carry troops back to the States. Three-star, two-star generals, some colonels, including a Lieutenant Colonel Davidson, and some others were present.

At first it didn't seem so strange. But it was ironic when you thought about it.

As everyone knew, high-point men—eighty and ninety pointers—had been waiting for weeks in the replacement camps, waiting for these ships that never came in. Perhaps it was only a coincidence that on that very day—Navy Day—most of the major fleet units of the navy were tied up and tidied up in the big ports in the States. The navy was proud, and rightly so.

As everyone knew, too, cargo ships had left Manila for the States empty—even with a few empty berths on some. Then one day about two weeks before, some soldiers talked to this Colonel Davidson. He was in a position to know. He said that a Liberty could be made into a transport in forty-eight hours, with fifty men to do the job. Next day the army paper printed the story. Now that put the Colonel on the spot in a way. Obviously his superiors didn't think well of the idea or they would have ordered it done. In fact, the Colonel didn't know his statements would appear in public print, and he had some uneasy moments.

Then the letters started pouring in to the paper that printed the story. They were unanimous in their praise for the Colonel. Men volunteered in writing by the hundreds to work on the conversion of the ships—even after doing a full day's work. Very soon the War Department authorized conversion, provided certain minimum standards for troop comfort were met. So the volunteers' offer was accepted, and here the first job was done.

That's how it came about that the generals had luncheon on the Liberty ship, the Otto Mears. The generals probably didn't realize it—at least the paper gave no indication—but actually that meal was a testimony to Colonel Davidson, even if all the enlisted men weren't present to say so. That day the pièce de résistance was crow. SOLDIER

Manila, October 28

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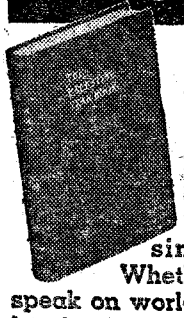

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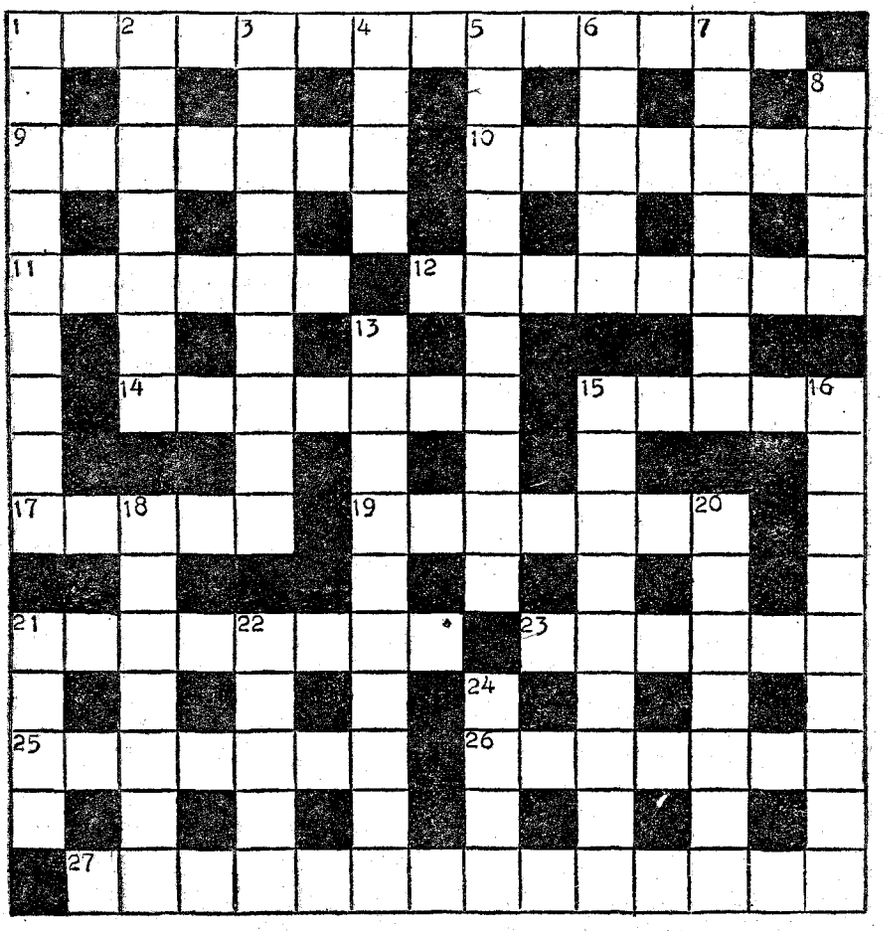
Crossword Puzzle No. 138

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 We like to think of ships' captains giving their engine rooms this order, but actually they never do (three words, 4, 5, 5)
9 Due in N.M. (anag.)
10 A fan whose "vote" we would be glad to have
11 Sings Swiss style
12 Hanky-panky, skullduggery, or jiggery-pokery
14 One kind of table
15 Italian composer whose *Goodbye* was a song hit in its day
17 Quick! Think of a number! This may be it!
19 Cattle pens originally made by immigrants with wagons
21 Only two of Fido's feet, though it sounds like all four
23 "Ale, sir?" (anag.)
25 Clearly shows a vice den
26 Old 2F demands double
27 Those of an economical turn of mind might be presented at Court in these (two words, 8 & 6)

DOWN

1 Average age of an oyster when eaten (two words, 4 & 5)
2 Do help one over a stile! (two words, 4 & 3)
3 Lone playing-card with an undershirt on
4 There's one alternative to having it dyed, and this is it
5 Though not a Victorian young lady, she may prefer old-fashioned cocktails (two words, 6 & 4)
6 "Cry '-----,' and let slip the dogs of war"
7 The man's entirely absorbed in songs of praise, it seems
8 "From morn To noon he fell, from noon to ---- eve"
13 This eight-legged, ebon-hued relict may be all right, but we prefer a Merry one, personally (two words, 5 & 5)
15 We never saw the batrachian in question sitting on one, except in an illustration
16 Parisian hospital?
18 I go green—one of those dizzy spells, you know?
20 Meerschaum was once supposed to be made from it (two words, 3 & 4)
21 Oh, run away!
22 Fancy putting a fast horse in crape!
24 Button that's not easily collared

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 137

ACROSS:—1 PSHAW; 6 ENTER; 9 ALADDIN; 10 NOVEL; 11 INURE; 12 KIPPERS; 16 HUNTER; 19 OLD BOY; 22 WRONGDOER; 23 ISLE; 24 AWAY; 25 ARCH; 26 YEGG; 27 TREK; 29 OVID; 30 EVOCATION; 33 SWEDES; 35 ENSUES; 38 ESPOUSE; 41 USHER; 42 MIAMI; 43 EMPORIA; 44 TIRED; 45 NIECE.

DOWN:—1 PINCH; 2 HAVEN; 3 WALKER; 4 RAMP; 5 ADZE; 6 ENISLE; 7 THUMB; 8 REEDY; 13 IRON CROSS; 14 PAGE; 15 ROOKERIES; 17 UNSCREW; 18 TWEAKED; 20 DRAGONS; 21 OPALINE; 28 FARO; 31 VEERED; 32 ONE MAN; 33 SOULT; 34 ETHER; 36 USAGE; 37 SEINE; 39 PAPA; 40 URRY.

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